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NOTE

THE Council of the Central Asian Society have had under consideration the project of enlarging their publications by the addition of short articles and notes on current events in the East. It is hoped to present four parts in each year, commencing with the present issue.

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A VISIT TO MONGOLIA*

By E. MANICO GULL

THE Chairman (Sir MORTIMER DURAND) said that Mr. Gull had spent many years in China, and having visited Mongolia he was thoroughly conversant with the subject on which he had kindly undertaken to speak to them.

The European resident in China has the choice of three routes to Urga, the capital of North Mongolia. He may travel over the Gobi desert from Kalgan, follow the Kerulen River from Hailar, or journey by rail to Werkne Udinsk, just east of Lake Baikal, and then strike south. I aimed originally at the first and most ambitious of the three; I ended by taking the third and easiest. The circumstance that altered my plans was war. Breaking out some months before along the Manchurian border, it had spread westwards, and the Chinese Government had refused in consequence to issue passports. The southern Mongol who had promised to accompany me backed out of his bargain, and nobody could be found to take his place. I tried first one scheme, and then another, in the meantime learning a good deal about the conditions obtaining in Inner Mongolia—more, perhaps, than I should have learned had I actually crossed it. Eventually, however, I was obliged to turn my back on Kalgan, and to proceed to Werkne Udinsk by rail. How seldom Britishers visit that town is proved by the complete ignorance of English that prevails in it. French it understands a little, German a trifle more, and anyone who can talk Chinese need find himself in no serious difficulty.

Werkne Udinsk sprang from a penal settlement, and a large white prison overlooking the Selenga River is in keeping with the cutthroat character of certain portions of the place. In these it is not well to stray alone after dark, lest some Russianized Chinese who has forgotten the decent traditions of his own country, some needy Buriat, or a broken Siberian colonist, be tempted to hold you up. In the main street, however, and those that cross it at right angles, shops and stores enfold you with prosperous security. Here, if you are robbed, it is in a courteous, civilized way—through artificial prices spelling profits of

* Read December 10, 1913.

between 200 and 300 per cent. A brisk trade in skins, furs, wool, and timber, and the presence of a large garrison, whose officers must either spend money or die of ennui, helps the town to tolerate this form of spoliation with an appearance of reckless good grace. In respect of its gay carelessness, Werkne Udinsk is reminiscent of Harbin; but it is far more picturesque. Pineclad hills hem it in on one side, the broad waters of the Selenga River on the other. Dark brown, green, and white houses framing grey roads throw long shadows over fair-haired women with pink shawls, grouped, basket on arm, amongst pig-tailed Chinese and bronzed Mongols in long red coats. Russian farmers in blue blouses and big top-boots trudge beside ox-carts creaking forward in a low cloud of dust, and now and then a sparkle of silver and steel breaks from a troop of cavalry as it wheels at a canter into the market square. Two steamers ply between Werkne Udinsk and Kiachta, the journey taking about thirty-six hours. It is by no means a comfortable trip, and the scenery of the river is scarcely sufficient compensation for all that one has to suffer. Just at first it is pretty enough, but before half the journey has been accomplished the hills have receded, leaving either bank flat and uninteresting. Here and there the channel narrows dangerously, and a strong current disputes the vessel's progress with such success that she is only got round sharp bends by the use of long poling rods. Thankful for such small excitements, one is still more grateful when a last twist of the river brings Oust-Kiachta into sight. It appears at first to be no larger than a cluster of cottages crowning a low hill. The greater part of the port, however, lies tucked away behind a straggling village dignified by the presence of a large and handsome church.

Kiachta proper lies some ten miles away to the south, and is reached after a pleasant drive first over an open plain, next through a broad belt of pines and silver birches, where in summer the ground is covered with wild-roses, tiger lilies, and iceland poppies. Suddenly emerging from the trees, your carriage sweeps into a semicircular clearing above a valley sheltering a cluster of white houses with green roofs. As the road descends the group scatters, and becomes interspersed with small logwood cottages richly brown. *Troisgesaft*, as this part of Kiachta is called, reproduces all the distinctive features of Werkne Udinsk, with this difference, that it is highly coloured. Here, on the Mongolian frontier, Mongol dresses of orange, scarlet, and turquoise blue, enrich the simpler hues of Siberia. The fact that one is on the frontier is further emphasized partly by the military character of Kiachta proper, where, in anticipation of future—I had almost said coming—events, Russia has completed the construction of barracks to accommodate 4,000 or 5,000 men, partly by the existence of a small Chinese town less than 100 yards south of two stone pillars. These mark the actual boundary. There are not very many places where one

can stand, literally, with one's legs in different empires. Here one can. Mai-mai-ch'eng, as this fourth division of Kiachta is called, is Chinese in appearance and spirit. One might be in a remote corner of Peking. What was the yamen has, indeed, been converted into a Mongolian Government office, and in the square market-place that lies just beyond it, there are Siberian colonists, Mongolians, and Buriats. But all that lies between the two parallel streets composing the town is entirely Chinese.

There was food for thought in this as one took the road to Urga. It led straight out on to the veldt, and soon became nothing more than a rough track, where strings of carts loaded with neatly piled blocks of timber met us on their way to market. Presently the path, broadening a little, rose towards a line of trees, the advance guard of a thick wood, on the other side of which a halt was made at a Russian rest-house. The second stage ended after a pleasant drive through hilly country on the banks of the Ura Gol, where night was spent in a cottage similar to the one we left behind. Rain fell so heavily all the next day that we decided to remain where we were. On the following morning, however, we crossed the river—horses, tarantas, and men—in a broad flat-bottomed barge pulled over by wire hawsers. South of the Ura Gol the scenery becomes typically North Mongolian. You ascend from one broad cup-shaped valley into another, the surrounding hills, grassy and covered with a profusion of wild-flowers, crowned here and there with pine-trees. A large Mongol camp received us hospitably at sunset. A special yurt is reserved for travellers by all encampments near main roads, and once you have learned to keep out of the smoke that rises from the charcoal fire in the centre of the tent you can make yourself very fairly comfortable. There are other troubles besides smoke, and to what extent they bother you depends upon the toughness of your skin. What I myself found most distressing was the tendency of the yurt, cosily warm when first one lay down, to become stiflingly hot after an hour or so. But whatever one's troubles may be, joy comes with the morning—and breakfast. No word picture can convey the glory of daybreak in North Mongolia at this time of year—July and August. The first delicate flush of clear skies, the sparkling silver of grassy plains, the exquisite freshness of the air—these can be seen and felt only, not adequately described. A third day's journey brought us to the Hara Gol. The river was in flood, but a consequent delay of forty-eight hours was enlivened by as good a stand-up fight as I have seen anywhere. Two Mongols fell foul of each other, squared up and fought, until the shorter of the two, finding himself outmatched, dodged, stooped quickly, and picked up a large stone, with which he proceeded to pound at his opponent's head; whereupon a burly Russian, a giant with blue eyes, flaming red beard, and a long pink blouse belted round a stupendous paunch, stepped into the ring.

and, seizing either man by the neck, threw them in opposite directions, rousing such a shout of laughter from the circle of onlookers that the fight came to an end.

Next morning the Hara Gol had fallen sufficiently to enable us to cross without more than a slight wetting. In a couple of stages we reached a last Mongol camp, and early next day a final ridge of hills thickly wooded—a paradise of wild-flowers. Urga lay on the other side concealed from view for an hour or more, until, as the road swept down and eastwards, one caught sight first of a level of grey roofs, then of a white tower, and, hanging from it, of bell-shaped canopies of gilded brass.

The city is divided into two distinct sections, West Urga and Mai-mai-ch'eng, which lies to the east some three miles away. Mai-mai-ch'eng, I should explain, means merely "buy-sell" city, and is only a term for the Chinese quarter. In West Urga, not, at first sight, distinct from it, but in reality forming a separate quarter, is the Lama, or Holy City. Built on a low hill, it consists of wooden houses and of tents partially concealed by palisades coloured brown and dark red. They are grouped round the tower we saw just now, of which this is another view. It houses a gigantic statue of Buddha, a fine image of gilded bronze rising out of a lotus flower. Its head and shoulders reach well above a narrow gallery running round the four sides of the tower at a height of more than 50 feet. On either side of the square pedestal on which the figure stands hang banners of yellow silk, and on the right are two richly draped thrones, used on ceremonial occasions by the Hutuktu and his consort. A wooden altar and incense-burners, bowls and candlesticks of pewter and bronze, stand at the feet of the idol. The doors of the temple—almost as thick as those of a Chinese city—are, so to speak, valves in the heart of an area less than half a mile square, yet concentrating over 80,000 priests who, dressed in togas of daffodil yellow and tulip red, enter and emerge, ascend and descend the slope of the sandy hill, with an effect of colour at once brilliant and restless. At the foot of the hill is the horse market, an oblong space of ground flanked by crumbling camel inns desert-brown, and single-storied Chinese shops with carved lintels of faded gold. It is the business centre of West Urga, and presents each day a scene as vivid and mellow as an old garden in flower. From about ten in the morning until four in the afternoon, the middle of the ground is occupied by a mob of ponies—white, brown, grey—circled and interspersed by buyers and sellers wearing mandarin hats with peacock feathers and dresses of orange, scarlet, yellow, and blue. To and from this richly coloured group, gay parties of Mongol women with head-dresses like flattened rams' horns, from which are suspended ropes of pearls, trot and canter in merry company. To the left of the market-place, and in abrupt contrast with it, lies part of the Russian

settlement. Small wooden houses, dirty and badly ventilated, give dismal shelter to rough-looking men and slatternly women. The streets are filthy. Dirt and rubbish stand in piles, prowled over and gradually eaten away by hordes of diseased dogs. It is a relief to move out into the open again towards the plain that lies along the bank of the Tola River, under the shadow of the sacred mountain Bogdo N'or. On the way one passes the principal Government offices, buildings thoroughly Chinese in appearance. Behind those on the left stands Bogdo's temple, half wood, half canvas, ornamented with small Tibetan cupolas of gilded bronze. Opposite on the right, standing by itself, is Bogdo's house, a wooden structure built in European style and adorned with a square turret painted green. A flimsy red paling encloses it with a number of Chinese pavilions of the conventional yellow-tiled type, grouped round a semi-Tibetan tower.

Farther on, and about halfway between West Urga and Mai-mai-ch'eng, is the Russian Consulate, a large white two-storied house, standing in a small untidy garden behind an imposing stone archway. Close to it is the ugliest sight in Urga—the red-brick headquarters of the Mongolor Gold Mining Company—one of the main factors behind Mongolia's recent declaration of independence. Mai-mai-ch'eng, the Chinese quarter, is enclosed by a stockade about 15 feet high, round which one can walk in less than twenty minutes. Three main streets, with a narrow gateway at either end surmounted by small wooden towers, run east and west. The principal gateway, the Ch'ing Tai Men, facing south, stands opposite the central building of the town, a Buddhist temple, by far the prettiest thing in Urga. The walls of its two small courtyards and the pailou which separates them are decorated with paintings of quite unusual excellence. The temple was built in the time of the Emperor Ka Hsing, enlarged in that of Hsien Feng, and renovated in the latter days of Kwang Hsu. To-day it forms the headquarters of the Shih Erh Chia, the principal Chinese guild in Urga.

As a result of its declaration of independence—an event which you will remember took place at the time of the Anti-Manchu revolution—a new situation has been created in North Mongolia. Let us examine it. According to recent telegrams from Peking, China has agreed to recognize the autonomy of Outer Mongolia, to abstain in future from any interference in its internal affairs, to desist from colonization; she agrees not to station any troops in the country other than those necessary to form a small escort for her representative at Urga. She is to be allowed to appoint agents to protect the interests of her subjects in various localities, but she gives up her right to appoint civil or military officials of the pre-revolution type. In other words, she gives up all claim to be the ruler of North Mongolia, retaining merely a theoretical suzerainty over the country, and in addition she

recognizes the validity of the Convention signed by the Russian and Mongolian Governments at Urga on November 3, 1912. Russia, on her side, agrees to recognize China as the suzerain power; to abstain from stationing troops other than consular guards; not to interfere with Mongolian administration; not to colonize.

On the face of it, this agreement appears to make North Mongolia a buffer State. What it actually does is something very different, for by the Urga Convention Russia has obtained rights which modify her promises not to maintain troops nor to colonize to such an extent as to make them almost meaningless. Her subjects are now at liberty to live and travel in all parts of Outer Mongolia without let or hindrance, to rent vacant land for agricultural purposes, to rent and buy it for purposes of trade. They are entitled to establish trade settlements wherever they desire to do so, and to live in those settlements in the enjoyment of extra-territorial rights under Consuls who are either to be sent out from St. Petersburg or selected from men on the spot. There is nothing to limit the number of Consuls; there is nothing in the recent agreement with China to prevent all of them being furnished with guards. Nor does either treaty specify the number of men of which a guard is to consist. With 10,000 troops distributed between Werke Udinsk and Kiachta, with guards at Kobdo and Ulliasutai, Urga, and the trade settlements that will spring up between them, Russia's promises not to maintain troops do not, I submit, amount to very much. What of her promise to abstain from colonization? Glance first at the Upper Yenisei Basin (which lies between the Syansk Mountains), the political boundary between Siberia and Mongolia—on to the north and the Tannuola Range. Russian penetration of this region began in 1860. By 1869 it had proceeded so far that Russian and Chinese settlers came to blows, and the authorities of either country appointed a commission to settle disputes. The Chinese agreed to pay an indemnity to such Russian traders as had suffered loss, the Russians agreed to prohibit Siberian colonists from settling permanently in the basin. What had happened since then? Let me quote the evidence of Mr. Douglas Carruthers, whose book "Unknown Mongolia" deals in detail with this region. "From all accounts," he says (see p. 164, vol. i.), "the Russians continued to build ranches, factories, and trading-posts. The native Uriankhai neither permitted nor forbade, whilst the Chinese were in no position to expostulate. So the colonists increased in numbers, attracted, in spite of a certain fear as to the attitude of the Chinese, by the offers of new homes in a pregnant land, where fishing and grazing rights were free to all comers. . . ." "Observing the situation at the present time," he continues, "we note that the Russians have won the day, and that the colonists have the advantage of the lands of the Uriankhai without the disadvantage of a foreign Government. It is an altogether unique

position, for the settlers in the basin actually possess the privileges of their own Russian rule."

If Russian promises in 1869 exercised no greater restraint than this, can we suppose that, with the Urga Convention signed, sealed, and delivered, with the right to establish trade settlements throughout the North Mongolia recognized in black and white, Russia really means to desist from colonization? If that is really her intention, why has she insisted on the Convention being recognized? The utmost that we can suppose is that Russia gives a special and limited meaning to the word "colonization." The utmost we can suppose is that, when she promises not to colonize, she undertakes not to support her colonists with Government funds. Now, under the Urga Convention the Russian Bank has the right of establishing branches wherever it sees fit. Is the Russian Bank a purely commercial organization? Was the Russo-Chinese Bank a purely commercial concern in the days before the Russo-Japanese War? Everybody knows it wasn't. Everybody knows that Russia's Manchurian enterprises were inspired, directed, and co-ordinated, from St. Petersburg. Everybody who has been to Urga recently knows that the Russian Government is lending financial support to efforts directed towards obtaining gold-mining and other concessions in the neighbourhood.

In the face of these facts I do not see how it can be maintained that all that Russia is aiming at in North Mongolia is the creation of a buffer State. It seems to me clear that what she is aiming at is, to put it in no stronger terms, the creation of a sphere of special interests which in course of time shall enable her to say "hands off" to everybody else. Moreover, she is doing this with the knowledge and support of Japan. I wish to lay particular emphasis on this point, because the tendency is to regard the Mongolian question as something special and isolated, whereas in point of fact its present phase is the direct outcome of the "entente" arrived at between Russia and Japan in July, 1910.

Let us now turn to the Mongols themselves, and to their views on the future of their country. Our stay in Urga coincided with the Tsam Festival, a Lamaistic ceremony in connection with which there take place annually a number of events semi-religious, semi-athletic. Of these not the least interesting are the archery competitions held on the grassy plain lying along the north side of the Tola River. In the centre of the plain, at one end of a space of ground from 70 to 80 yards long, stand four large tents. At the other are four targets made of small wickerwork bracelets, about three times as broad as napkin-rings, piled in a wall one above the other. At the commencement of the competition the targets are about 15 feet long and a little over 2 feet high. As it proceeds, they are gradually reduced to a foot or so in length and height. The arrow has only to touch them and they fall, but the aim of the competitor is to strike his mark full and low

and shatter it to pieces. No shot that falls outside a line drawn 4 yards from the target, and then ricochets on to it, counts, but any damage done by an arrow falling within the margin is hailed with almost as much applause as that inflicted by a fair and square hit. The competitors advance in pairs, and, kneeling, bow first to the distant targets and then to the tents just behind them. These, dyed light and dark blue, are filled with spectators, whose hats and robes form radiant masses of colour.

The eye travels over rows of tulip red and russet brown, rests on pale violet, purple and smoky grey, leaps from daffodil yellow and flaming orange to scarlet and brilliant blue. Like flowers in the wind, the colours are continually in motion, for the spectators, becoming competitors in turn, rise, disengage themselves, bow their heads to the earth, and stand erect to aim.

As they do so, a low dirge-like chant breaks from the opposite end of the ground, where in front of each target friends and rivals stand in groups. With the bending of the bow the chant dies, ceasing abruptly as the arrow twangs into the air. For a second or two there is silence, all eyes watching the shaft's arching flight. Then, as the ivory-tipped head hits, the group which has scattered quickly re-forms into a semi-circle, and each man, raising his arms and waving them from side to side, advances slowly, chanting applause in loud, deep monotone. Those in charge of the targets rebuild them, and tiny Lama boys, gathering the arrows, scamper back with them to the marksmen like sun-browned amorini.

The annual wrestling competition was held a few days later. At one end of a square, under a tent of yellow silk appliqué with blue, sat the spiritual head of Mongolia, the Hutuktu, with his guards, surrounded by leading Mongol Princes in Chinese official dress and a host of Lama priests wearing mitres and togas of yellow. A dense crowd of spectators surrounded the remaining sides of the square in rows of mulberry red and copper brown. The wrestlers, stripped almost naked, compete in teams; one is surprised at the whiteness of their skin. They are most of them big men, strongly rather than beautifully made, with hard rippling muscles. The shoulders are a trifle too broad, and a life in the saddle has thickened and banded the legs. But their bodies show fitness, condition, capacity for tremendous effort. At a given signal the opposing teams enter the ring. They throw their hands into the air and move in converging files towards the Hutuktu's tent in a slow run, jerking their knees as high as possible, and crying out as they advance. Within a few paces of the tent they stop, drop to earth, and knock their heads on the ground three times. Retreating in the same fastastic way, each man faces his opponent, crouching for a hold. The wrestling begins; each couple is watched by two umpires, who, however, are backers as well,

and encourage their men by administering sounding slaps between the shoulder-blades. In most cases the fall comes quickly ; in a few the bout lags on in a series of clinches. This couple, for instance, remained in this position for ten counted minutes. It is a game of patience and tense watching. Presently one of the two relaxes, attempts to shift his hold, or lets his mind for a second wander. In an instant he is bent over, broken, and brought down with a snap. There is a roar of applause, and the victor, throwing his hands into the air, advances, running slowly, to salute the god and to receive the coveted reward of success—some milk and a few cakes blessed by the priests.

A third scene was even more instructive—a race meeting, held in the beautiful green valley a little east of Urga. We rode out to it in a merry party of Mongols with their wives, who, though in gala array, all rode astride. There were thirty entries for a race over flat, open country for five miles ; the jockeys were little boys and girls, the youngest eight, and the oldest not more than fourteen. The ponies, their riders up and singing in chorus, paraded in a circle between tents coloured light and dark blue. Presently a Lama in flowing robes of yellow, with a pennon at the end of a lance, placed himself at the head of the line, and the slow parade broke into a trot. Four or five times the circle was completed, till the trot, momentarily quickening, became a fast canter. Then, the excitement of the ponies worked up to a pitch, the Lama gave the signal. With a sweep of his lance he shot off at a gallop, the circle behind him uncoiling like a lasso. It spread out across the plain, racing towards a bend in the hills, the actual starting-point. We followed for a little, and then, dismounting, waited until in straggling file, flanked by those who had gone all the way, the competitors reappeared. The first home was a girl with a sash of orange bound round her jet-black hair. A mounted Lama caught her bridle and led her up to each of the tents in turn. Before each he intoned a prayer, and at the last the girl was handed a bowl of milk, and milk was poured over her pony's head. Each of the competitors was then taken up to the tents in turn, and each pony anointed in the same way. At the end of the afternoon the owners and others stripped off their clothes and wrestled until the sun, crowned with a floating splendour of flame, sank behind the hills.

Such are the Khalkhas, or Northern Mongols, accustomed from infancy to a life in the saddle, ready to wrestle or race, or shoot or fight, unused to and incapable of work ; children of the mountain and the desert, loving freedom, hating restraint, entirely uneducated, in a sense deeply religious, yet possessing no very definite morality ; hospitable, jolly, absolutely fearless and occasionally cruel, fond of money when easily come by, incapable of bargaining except for a horse ; fond of dress, colours, and ceremony, yet simple and Spartan in their way of living ; rough, undisciplined, unpolished—a people which has never grown up.

They placed themselves voluntarily under the protection of the Manchus in 1688, their reason for this step being that they were threatened with conquest at the hands of their kinsmen, the Eleuths, or Western Mongols. Their Dzassaks, or chiefs, received Manchu titles, and for a time retained all their original power. Gradually, however, these were diminished. By 1756 China had completely defeated the Western Mongols, and had established a Military Governor at Uliassutai, with Assistant-Governors at Kobdo on the one hand and Urga on the other. The men stationed at these latter places acquired independent positions, and took their orders no longer from Uliassutai, but from Peking, so that the Khalkhas were brought more directly than before under Chinese control. Under the last Chinese Amban this control was unfairly exercised, and consequent discontent was increased partly by the methods—not, I maintain, by the fact—of Chinese colonization, partly by the Amban's disrespectful treatment of the god, the Hutuktu. Determination to revolt sprang from the certainty of Russian assistance. Leading men in Urga see, however, that in getting rid of one set of masters they have placed themselves, to an extent far greater than they anticipated, in the power of another. In certain quarters the Urga Convention is regarded as a mistake—a mistake that can only be rectified by inducing Europeans of all nationalities to visit Mongolia and put money into it. The men who entertain this view would welcome British mining experts and wool manufacturers. They would welcome the appointment of a British Consul. For the time being, however, the politics of Urga are controlled by the Hutuktu and one or two Princes who are in receipt of financial assistance from Russia. I refrain from saying that they are in receipt of bribes. A bribe is money received for doing something you would otherwise not do. From very early times, however, the Khalkhas have evinced a desire to rely on Russian support. As long ago as 1719 the Chinese prohibited them from dealing directly with the Russian Government. The pro-Russian party in Urga may be thoroughly genuine in desiring the utmost possible extension of Russian influence. Unfortunately the head of the party, the Hutuktu, is not a man whose moral character inspires any respect. As long as he lives, however, Russian influence will remain supreme. When he dies, it is more than likely that a reaction will take place. It is more than likely, also, that it will take place too late.

Sir THOMAS HOLDICH: I have no hesitation in saying that the lecture to which we have just listened is one of the most interesting ever delivered in this room. Mr. Gull is to be particularly congratulated on the excellent illustrations, which have carried us through his journey and brought home to us the scenes he has visited in the most effective way. Indeed, they fill one with longing to go to a country

which is still so untouched by European influences. We can only hope that British and other miners will not get there just yet, and that the methods and manners of these people will remain uncontaminated by European influences for at least some time to come. There is one question I should like to ask Mr. Gull. Many centuries ago there were in those regions tribes that professed the Christian faith. The Nestorian form of Christianity seems to have taken deep root in Central Asia, and some traces of its existence are still to be found, but they are not many. They are associated historically with that semi-mythical name, Prester John. But Prester John was not a myth; we believe him, at any rate, to have been the head of an influential group of tribes who were federated under the general name of Kara Khitai. One tribe, of whom little has since been heard, was first encountered by Mr. Ney Elias in Mongolia, where they are probably still seated. They seem to maintain some Christian ritual in their observances, and to understand Christian symbols. It would be very interesting, and to a great extent it would illuminate a dark historical period about which we know exceedingly little, if travellers in Mongolia were to seek out information on this particular head, and it would be interesting to us personally if Mr. Gull could tell us that he came across any sort of reminiscence of those days.

Mrs. ARCHIBALD LITTLE said she hoped she would not be out of order in saying how greatly she had enjoyed the very interesting account of his travels given by the lecturer. She had never heard anyone who had visited a country describe it in a manner more calculated to carry his hearers there with him. She was immensely struck by his careful and wonderful discrimination in describing colour effects, and she had never seen lantern views from which she had derived so much pleasure.

Mr. GULL thanked Sir Thomas Holdich for his kind references to the slides, and said that many of them were lent to him by his friend and fellow-traveller, Mrs. Bulstrode. In respect to the question asked him, he was afraid he had no information, for he did not travel in Mongolia farther west than Urga. The particular tribe to which Sir Thomas had alluded must live some 600 or 700 miles farther west than Urga. He hoped, however, to visit Mongolia again, and would bear in mind the interesting point raised.

The CHAIRMAN said they would all agree with him that Mr. Gull deserved the warm thanks of the Society for his lecture. He entirely concurred with the compliments which had been paid him. They had all been intensely interested, and he would say on their behalf that, if Mr. Gull did pay another visit to Mongolia, he hoped he would come and give them the benefit of another lecture.

NOTES AND NEWS

CAPTAIN F. M. BAILEY'S LATEST EXPLORATION

CAPTAIN F. M. BAILEY, of the Indian Army, is the elder son of the late Colonel Frederick Bailey, of the Royal Engineers, who, after prolonged service in the Forest Department of the Government of India, retired, and succeeded Mr. Silva White as Secretary of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, a post which he held till within a few years of his death, which took place at the end of 1912. Thus the son was brought up in society and surroundings calculated to nurture and develop any natural bent for exploration. The last letter which I received from Colonel Frederick Bailey is dated June 12, 1912, and was written shortly after the Gill Memorial had been awarded by the Royal Geographical Society to his son, who, to quote the terms of the Royal Geographical Society award, "in 1904 was personally attached to Captain Rawlings, the leader of the expedition from Lhasa through Tibet, and has quite recently" (April to August, 1911) "carried out an important journey from China to Assam by way of Batang and Rima on the Upper Lohit, making a careful traverse of the route." Colonel Bailey's letter naturally reflects the pride which he felt in the success of his son's enterprise, and concludes with an expression of regret that the obligatory exclusion of all political matter detracted from the interest of the paper, descriptive of his son's last journey, which appeared in the April numbers of the Royal and Royal Scottish Geographical publications for 1912.

It is a difficult matter for one who has never approached nearer to the borderland of Assam and Western China than the Kunlon Ferry over the Salween, and who has consequently been unable to follow the records of exploration along the marches of South-West Se-Chuan and South-East Tibet with that closeness which personal knowledge facilitates, to weigh with accuracy and impartiality the parts played by a succession of explorers in achieving the solution which has now been effected. Very recently Mr. F. Kingdon Ward has brought out the account of his travels along this frontier from April to December, 1911, in a volume entitled "The Land of the Blue Poppy." Had Captain Bailey been in search of a picturesque title for his monograph on this country, I conceive that he would have blossomed into "The Land of the *Yellow* Poppy"; for I cull the following from the early part of his article: "Below the pass I saw some magnificent yellow poppies, one of which measured $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter." After some study of Captain Bailey's own paper, of Mr. Bentinck's lecture before the Royal Geographical Society, delivered on December 2, 1912, and the discussion which followed it, and of the information afforded by Mr. Kingdon Ward, I come to the conclusion that the obstacle which stood in the way of the passage of Europeans from China into the valley of the Brahmaputra was the Lamas of South-East Tibet, and not so much the Mishmi tribe. Prince Henri d'Orléans and Mr. E. C. Young, we are informed, took more southerly routes than that followed by Captain Bailey, and did not touch Tibetan territory. M. Bacot and other French travellers are also referred to, but I have not within easy command any record of their journeys. Major

H. R. Davies, of the Oxfordshire Light Infantry, Gold Medallist of the Royal Geographical Society, who, as a very young officer, in 1887 accompanied the Northern Shan Expedition from Mandalay to the Salween, evidently did in 1900 endeavour to cross into Tibetan territory; for Captain Bailey, when speaking of his own passage of the bridge over the Mekong near Yen-ching, adds: "It was at this bridge that Major Davies and his companions were turned back in 1900; the Lamas fired on the party, and eventually cut the rope bridge." It is interesting to note that Major Davies' search for an Indo-Chinese railway route brought him to this point. Ever since the Trans-Persian Railway was mooted, the idea has suggested itself to me that the great trans-Continental railway of the future from Calais, via Constantinople or the Caucasus, and via Calcutta to the Pacific Coast at Shanghai and Canton, would have to follow the Upper Lohit Valley and the route explored by Captain Bailey. But an examination of the heights recorded on Captain Bailey's plan seems to negative altogether this idea. Between the Salween and the Mekong runs from north to south an obviously formidable range of mountains. A careful study of Stieler's map seems to show that Assam is divided from China, as France is from Italy, by mountains which tunnelling alone can render penetrable by railways. The passage of a railway, whether from the valley of the Brahmaputra or the valley of the Irrawaddy to that of the Yangtse-Kiang, is an engineering enterprise of the first magnitude, but, we may reasonably infer, is within the compass of human skill and ingenuity.

It should be noted that Captain Bailey mentions that there is a French mission-station at Yerkals, evidently near the left or east bank of the Mekong. It was obviously from the Tibetans west of the Mekong that opposition was anticipated. There is a sentence at the beginning of Mr. Bentinck's paper which is not to an outsider easy of explanation. It runs thus: "I have nothing to say on the two missions which were working simultaneously with us; the Mishmi Mission on the Upper Lohit covered little ground that had not been previously visited by Mr. Needham and Mr. Williamson, and described by them," etc. Whatever this mission may have been to which Mr. Bentinck refers, it has no bearing on the task which Captain Bailey had to accomplish—viz., that of traversing Eastern Tibet from Yen-ching on the Mekong, through Menkong on the Salween, to Rima on the Upper Lohit. As has been pointed out before, the difficulty lay in crossing the south-eastern corner of Tibet. It was evidently the opinion of one, if not more, of the experienced surveyors and explorers of India, that the concentration and proximity of the Abor Expedition in 1911 had facilitated the passage of Captain Bailey from Yen-ching to Rima. Considering the distance of Kobo and the Abor country from Yen-ching—viz., 250 to 300 miles—we may be excused if we do not attach much importance to this view. A very able explorer and orator at the 1912 anniversary dinner of the Royal Geographical Society put the idea most happily in the words, "thus luck backs pluck"; but even the happiness of the phraseology could not gild the suggestion in the eyes of some people. As a matter of fact, the expedition under General Sir Hamilton Bower turned its attention entirely to the country north and north-west of Sadiya, up the basin of the Dihong River. It must have been a deep disappointment to the survey party, which reached a point on the Dihong some sixty miles north-north-west of Kebang, that they could not push farther to the north-west and solve that problem—namely, the identity of the San-po and the Brahmaputra, the honour of the definite solution of which has been reserved

for Captain Bailey and Captain Morshead. Before embarking on this subject, let me give, for the information of those who desire to study more closely the geography of the Indo-Chinese frontier, references to the *Journals* of the Royal Geographical Society which record the achievements of the principal recent explorers prior to Captain Bailey :

1. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for December, 1896. Account of Prince Henri d'Orléans' journey from Tonkin across Yunnan into Assam.

2. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for December, 1900. Report of the survey of the Burma-Sechuan Railway, by Captains H. R. Davies (Oxfordshire Light Infantry) and E. C. Pottinger (R.A.), and Lieutenants Watts-Jones and Hunter (R.E.).

3. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for October, 1901. Report of Captain Robertson on the Northern Mishmi Country and the Dibang River, supplementing Colonel Woodthorpe's exploration in 1877-78.

4. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for October, 1902. Report on the country of the Mishmis.

5. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for February, 1903. Paper on the "Exploration of Western China," by Captain Ryder, followed by a discussion in which Major H. R. Davies (under whom Captain Ryder served), Sir T. Holdich, and others, take part. Captain Ryder's map appeared with the August, 1903, number of the Royal Geographical Society's *Journal*.

6. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for August, 1907. Report of the journey of Mr. E. C. Young from Yunnan-fu to Sadiya; with map.

7. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for August, 1908, pp. 181-183. Reports on the journeys of M. Jacques Bacot and Captain D'Ollone in South-Eastern Tibet and Western Sechuan.

8. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xxxiv., 1909 : p. 75, (a) Review of "Yunnan, the Link between India and the Yangtse," by Major H. R. Davies; p. 363, (b) "The Lohit-Brahmaputra, between Assam and Eastern Tibet," by Noël Williamson.

This last journey, undertaken in the winter of 1907-08 by a frontier officer who fell a victim to Abor savagery in 1911, was an important step towards opening up the route between the Mekong and the Lohit which Captain Bailey finally traversed.

Having thus passed briefly in review the performances of those who, within the last quarter of a century, have lifted the geographical veil which formerly overhung the country, mostly mountainous and permeated by rivers of proportions commensurate with the great ranges that separated them, where China, Burma, Assam, and Tibet meet, I propose to summarize with equal or greater brevity the information we possess regarding the hitherto supposed, and now proven, identity of the San-po and Brahmaputra. The address delivered by Mr. Bentinek before the Royal Geographical Society on December 2, 1912 (*vide Journal* for February, 1913), on "The Geographical Results of the Abor Expedition," followed by a discussion in which Lord Curzon, Sir Thomas Holdich, Sir H. Bower, and Captain Bethell, took part, practically enables me, aided by articles which appeared in the *Times of India* of November 19, and the *Scotsman* (Captain Bailey is an Edinburgh man) of November 21 last, to do this. It is interesting to recall that at the close of Sir F. Younghusband's Tibet Mission it was proposed (see his "India and Tibet," chap. xx.) to send Mr. Claude White and Captain Ryder, escorted by the 8th Gurkhas, to follow the course of

the San-po to Sadiya, and, as Sir F. Younghusband puts it (p. 328), "to discover how and where this mighty river cuts its way clean through the main axis of the Himalayas, and to see the falls and rapids which are involved in a drop from 11,500 to 500 feet. . . . All that was wanting was the sanction of the Government of India, and that, unfortunately, at the last moment was not forthcoming. . . . It was a pity, and a sad disappointment to many, for it will be *many a year* before we again have such an opportunity of solving what is one of the greatest remaining geographical problems." Younghusband's expedition to Lhasa took place in 1904, and his book appeared in the autumn of 1910. His "*many a year*" represents a much shorter period than anyone, even the Government of India itself, could have ventured to predict. Of Captain Bailey, the solver of the problem, Sir F. Younghusband thus writes: "Lieutenant Bailey, 82nd Pioneers, a keen and adventurous officer, who had distinguished himself with the Mounted Infantry, and in his leisure moments learnt Tibetan, was also attached to the (Captain Rawlings's) party to proceed to India." We can well understand the disappointment felt both by the Lhasa Expedition of 1904 and by the Abor Expedition of 1911, that circumstances denied to them the honour of solving the San-po-Dihong problem. The 8th Gurkhas accompanied both expeditions, and in the Abor country Lieutenant-Colonel J. A. Wilson's two trained dogs attracted much attention.

It will be noted that, after all, Sir Thomas Holdich's confidence in the accuracy of Kinthup's report is justified. Just six weeks ago an officer who has had a long and close connection with Himalayan travel wrote to me these words: "I am very interested in all (Himalayan) exploration, particularly of the San-po. How is it Kinthup was never questioned about his journey after we found his account did not agree with our experiences? He was still alive in Kalimpong." That seems to be a question for the Survey of India to answer. Mr. Bentinck's scepticism is so frankly and humorously expressed that, even though he be wrong, we readily pardon his error. Lord Curzon was pleased to compliment him on "his vein of subacid humour, which must have rendered him a most agreeable companion of journeys in those parts." He is no less agreeable to read. His testimony to the personality of Mr. Noël Williamson, and to the misunderstandings which led to his murder, move us to mutter, "Oh, the pity of it!" as we did when we heard of the murder of Lieutenant Boyd Alexander, and as I remember doing nearly forty years ago, when Lieutenant William Holcombe, an old Shrewsbury schoolfellow, met on the Assam border the fate that in 1911 befell Messrs. Williamson and Gregorson.

We may dismiss without remark Captain Bethell's theory, sceptically received as it was at the time by the President of the Royal Geographical Society and by Sir Thomas Holdich. What interests us more is the evidence of Sir Thomas Holdich, who quotes and supports Kinthup, and, furthermore, quotes Colonel Waddell, the author of a notable book on Tibet, in support of the native explorer. Waddell states that many Tibetans bore witness to the existence of the falls—falls, however, as Sir T. Holdich adds, "only 70 feet" high. Mr. Bentinck sums up the case in these words: "The river among the snows is said to be deep, narrow, and very rapid, and the banks precipitous; again, *nothing was known of any falls*. It may be remembered that, while on the Dihong the river in a course of not less than 85 miles, from Singing to Gyala, has to drop some 10,000 feet, the Teesta, not so very far west" (about 400 miles), "descends 16,000 feet in a course of 70 miles *without any falls at all*."

Of the rapidity of the Dihong current Mr. Bentinck writes : "The river narrows here"—i.e., at Riga, a little north of Kebang—"to about 120 yards, and the current was approximately $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour, the river being then at its lowest." The geologist of Mr. Bentinck's party could not get exact soundings, but estimated the depth of the river to be not less than 80 feet. "Close under the bank there was no bottom at 60 feet."

Such is the evidence with which geographers were left a year ago, when Mr. Bentinck addressed the Royal Geographical Society ; and if we needed any proof of the fitness of Lord Curzon for the post of President of that Society, it would be found in the remarks with which he closed the discussion. He says : "For myself, I have always imagined that the falls do not exist in the form of any substantial cataract, but are probably a series of rapids of no very great elevation, though capable of being misrepresented as, or even of being mistaken for, falls." He then asks Captain Bethell what he proposes to do with the San-po if it is not accounted for by the Dihong. Finally, allowing himself a digression after his own heart, he says, in compliment to Mr. Bentinck : "During the time I was in India I can recall no successful expedition which was not in the main successful because of the abilities of the Political Officer." His lordship, indeed, boldly throws down the gauntlet. The experiences of the Government of India from 1838 to 1842 were such, that General Sir George Pollock was sent up, *with full military and political powers*, to relieve Jalalabad and revenge our reverses at and near Kabul. Since then a Political Officer has, as a rule, been attached to the staff of the senior military officer commanding an expedition, and his position in no sense entitles him to take the credit away from his superior. In fact, the self-assertiveness of the Political Officer has on numerous occasions been a serious embarrassment to the military officer in command of an expedition. On the other hand, the local knowledge of the Political Officer is of great service to his military superior. As a counterpoise to Lord Curzon's opinion, it is well to quote what Sir Mortimer Durand, himself an ex-Indian civilian, says in his *Life of Sir Alfred Lyall* (p. 226) on Politicals in time of war : "It has usually been thought desirable in our Eastern wars to have a staff of Political Officers with our armies. They carry on the dealings between the General in command and the natives of the country, collect intelligence and sometimes supplies, and keep the Government in touch with all that is going on. *They have often been given a position of too much independence*, and their proceedings have been much resented by military commanders ; but in countries where military operations are not carried on by regular armies on both sides it has been found impracticable to dispense with them, and many commanders have known how to make good use of their services." This states the case from a different and, in my opinion, more correct point of view. I treated this subject at much greater length in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July, 1900.

Captains Bailey and Morshead have, it would appear, since their arrival at Calcutta on November 17, kept their own counsel. Captain Bailey's mother received on the morning of Monday, November 17, a cablegram from her son announcing his safe arrival at Calcutta. It was not till the 19th that Reuter passed this intelligence on to the British Isles, and on the 20th the same agency falls back on "Captain Bailey's followers" for the information that "they saw no gigantic falls on the Brahmaputra, but that at the spot where the native explorer Kinthap had located the falls the river did drop about 50 feet in

30 yards. The prognostications of geographical experts hereby receive ample confirmation. The very nature of the country and peoples amid which the explorers moved precluded the possibility of communication between them and the civilized world. I gather that Mrs. Bailey heard nothing from her son between June 5 and November 17—an anxious time! Still, on November 2 a friend well qualified to judge wrote to me: “Young Bailey will turn up all right, you will see.” And so it has proved, and we rejoice at his success and safe return.

A. C. YATE.

P.S.—For a most remarkable specimen of an Abor suspension bridge, *vide Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for August, 1912, pp. 213-215. The first glimpse suggests a spider's web. Scientific and engineering facilities considered and compared, the Forth Bridge would appear to me called upon to yield the palm to that of the Dihong. Further, I appeal to geographers to differentiate between Dihong and Dibong. In Stieler's Atlas, again, they are printed Dihang and Dibang. I feel tempted to murmur, “D—both.”—A. C. Y.

INDIAN SURVEYS: THE LINK WITH RUSSIA.

A connection with Russian surveys has always been the aspiration of Indian surveyors. Both countries; Russia and India, possess a magnificent system of geodetic triangulation. In Russia this system is based on the observatory at Pulkova, in India on the observatory at Madras. Pulkova as a part of the general European system has been linked to Madras by determinations of differential longitude through the telegraph, but the two survey systems have never been brought into the same general geodetic scheme until quite recently. During the progress of the Pamir Boundary Commission, which determined the limits of Russian territory on the extreme north-east of Afghanistan in 1895, triangulation was carried by irregular methods across the Hindu Kush from a Punjab frontier series to Lake Victoria in the Pamirs; and a junction was there effected with the Russian trans-Caspian geographical surveys in order to fix an initial point for the take-off of the boundary work which should be common to both. The agreement as to the absolute position of the pillar at the eastern end of Lake Victoria was very satisfactory, and was quite sufficient to furnish a basis for a scientific determination of the whole line of boundary pillars. Such a result could, however, only be accepted as provisional, and in no way could it answer the purposes of a strictly scientific geodetic connection. During the last five years triangulation has been run by Indian surveyors from Rawal Pindi to Chilas, and thence over the ranges west of Nanga Parbat and the Ladakh range to the Kailas range near Gilgit. From the neighbourhood of Gilgit it has been carried northward by the Hunza-Nagar line of approach over the Hindu Kush into the Tagdumbash Pamir, where, near the Chinese post of Bayik, a junction is effected with two Russian stations, Kukhtek and Sarblok. It is impossible to estimate the value of this northern extension of Indian triangulation as a unit in the general geodetic system of world measurement until we know exactly the value of Russian trans-Caspian triangulation; nor must it be overlooked that much of the Indian series has necessarily been confined within the limits of comparatively narrow mountain valleys hedged in with gigantic ranges, so that the length of the rays, or sides, involved in the figures of the series must be shorter than is usually admissible in first-class triangulation. On the other hand, the scientific value of a series such as this, carried through a mountain

region with stations of observation some of which probably reach 19,000 feet in altitude, must be of supreme value in clearing up many doubtful problems in refraction and other matters incidental to a highly rarefied atmosphere. It is a notable performance, and it will stand as a permanent record of the enterprise of Indian surveyors. Incidentally it shows us what may be accomplished by the use of comparatively small and light and perfectly graduated instruments. The work was commenced by Mr. J. de Graaf Hunter, and carried on by Lieutenant H. G. Bell, R.E., who died on the Pamirs ere it was completed. Lieutenant K. Mason, R.E., was in command of the detachment which brought it to a conclusion last year. The extreme barrenness and the inhospitable ruggedness of the country, the difficulty of finding accessible hills up which the instruments could be taken and from which good figures could be obtained, and the severe task of finding supplies, made the work a good deal more than interesting; it involved strenuous effort equalling that of any ordinary Antarctic exploration. The interests of zoology, botany, geology, and meteorology, were all well cared for by Captain R. W. G. Hingston, I.M.S., who accompanied the party.

T. H. H.

German Railway Construction in North China.—In the *Times* of December 24, 1913, appear the following details of an Agreement arrived at between the German Minister in Peking and the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs for the construction of two new German railways in China:

"The Agreement concerns two lines. The first is a railway from Kowmi on the existing Shantung Railway via Ichowfu to a point where the Tientsin-Pukow Railway cuts the Imperial Canal at Hanchwang or at some other terminus on the Tientsin-Pukow Railway and the canal which may be found in the course of the negotiation of the details. Secondly, the Tientsin-Pukow and the Peking-Hankow Railways are to be joined together by a line running approximately from Tsinanfu to Shuntefu, the details in this case also being left for further negotiation. Both railways are to be built as Chinese State railways with German capital, German materials, and a German head-engineer, who will remain in the Chinese service for as long a period as the loan agreement runs. The details regarding the routes and regarding finance are to be settled by German and Chinese special Commissioners, if possible in the course of the next three months, so that the work could be begun next year. If both railways cannot be built simultaneously, the Kowmi-Ichowfu line would be begun first. The German Shantung Railway and the two new Chinese State Railways will co-ordinate their tariffs by 'friendly' agreement, so that 'co-operation of all the railways in the opening up of the provinces that come in question will be assured.' The capital requirements for both railways are estimated at from £3,500,000 to £4,000,000."

Railway in Manchuria.—An agreement for the construction of a railway from Taonan to Chinchow in Southern Manchuria has been signed by the Japanese Minister in Peking.

Julfa-Tabriz Railway.—The Julfa-Tabriz line was started in November last from both termini of the line simultaneously. The engineering difficulties are few, and there is, apparently, no reason why the line should not be completed by the spring of 1915.

The Orient Railway.—At a meeting in Vienna on December 15, Count Vitali, President of the Régie Générale des Chemins de Fer, and Dr. von Adler,

the Austro-Hungarian representative on the Financial Commission, discussed, with the representatives of the Austrian and Hungarian banks which hold the majority of the Orient Railway Company shares, the affairs of the company. Four points were raised :

1. The foundation of Servian and Greek companies for the exploitation of the lines which already exist or will eventually be constructed in the new Greek and Servian territories.

2. The capital and management of these companies to be in French, Austro-Hungarian, Servian (or Greek) hands in a proportion which has yet to be fixed.

3. The foundation of a French Railway Trust Company in which the Austro-Hungarian and French shares of the capital of the "national" companies would be deposited.

4. Complete equality between the French and Austro-Hungarian elements in the share capital and management of the Trust Company.

For the time being the Austro-Hungarian Government is believed to insist on the application of the provisions of the *Convention à quatre* to all railways in the new Servian territory.

Asia Minor Railways.—It is reported from St. Petersburg that the agreement arrived at in 1901 between Russia and Turkey with regard to railway construction in Asia Minor has been revised. By this revision Russia retains control over all railways constructed in Armenia in the zone adjacent to the Caucasus. Such railways may be constructed by others than Russians, but only with the consent of Russia.

Baghdad-Teheran Route.—News comes that the great caravan route of the Baghdad-Teheran road between Khanikin on the Turkish frontier and Hamadan is in a troublous and disturbed condition. The unruly tribes have stopped their old methods of plundering the caravans, and have since the autumn taken to levying tribute for safe-conduct. These extortions, though quite variable and capricious, represent something like a 10 per cent. toll on the value of the goods, and the winter trade has in consequence been stopped. The Khanikin-Hamadan road is in the Russian sphere, but it is not the route by which the Russian trade goes. That route is well guarded, and Russian trade is increasing while that of Great Britain is decreasing. Lancashire's interest in the Persian trade and the Baghdad-Teheran route is enormous, the Manchester trade alone amounting in a normal year to some £2,000,000, and the demand of the Manchester merchants is that the British trade route through Kermanshah to Hamadan should be made safe and be protected by the Swedish Gendarmerie rather than by Farman Pasha's police.

Journey across Arabia.—The exploration of the Ruba el Khali Desert, a region of over 600,000 square miles, is the object of an expedition by the Countess Molitor. Although no definite plan can be made before departure, the general plan of the Countess is to proceed by the Medina Railway to Daira, thence to strike east to Teima, a fortnight's journey across the mountains. Thence the traveller will make for Tamreh, another three weeks' mountain journey. No places are marked on the map of the desert beyond Tamreh, and there are 1,200 miles of unexplored desert to be crossed before Muscat, Countess Molitor's objective will be reached.

Turco-Persian Frontier.—The greater part of this frontier was defined under the protocol signed in Constantinople on November 17 by the Grand Vizier, and the British, Russian, and Persian Ambassadors. The Commission

met in Mohammerah on December 10, the British representative being Mr. A. C. Wratislaw, and it is expected that the work of demarcation will take about eighteen months. In cases where the Turkish and Persian Commissioners cannot agree, the points in dispute will be decided by the British and Russian Commissioners, to whom such power has been assigned.

Russia and Mongolia.—An agreement recently concluded between Russia and China recognizes the autonomy of Outer Mongolia subject to the suzerainty of China.

New Land to the North of Siberia.—A large body of land was discovered in September last by the Russian Expedition which annually surveys the northernmost coast of Siberia with the view of rendering commercially practicable the northern sea-route to the Far East. This land, discovered by Captain Wilitsky, extends for over 200 miles about latitude 78 north, longitude 104, coming to an end in latitude 81 and longitude 96 east.

Education in China.—University Extension lines have been followed in China in organizing an educational project under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A. of China. The National Committee of the Association arrange lectures in science, art, sociology, etc., for those who have not had the benefit of University education. The scheme has achieved great popularity, and has done much to enlarge the intellectual outlook of the people.

Anglo-Chinese Friendship Bureau.—This is the name taken by an association formed to promote friendly intercourse between this country and China, particularly through the aid of Chinese students and others during their residence in England. The Chinese students now number several hundreds, and such an association will undoubtedly prove very valuable both to them and to the English people brought into contact with them thereby. The Bureau will also provide information and introduction to Englishmen going out to take up professional or business positions in China. It has opened offices at 17, Bouverie Street, E.C.

The Japanese Diet.—The Rikkendoshikai, the party of the late Prince Katsura, have elected to the leadership of the party Baron Kato, the late Ambassador in London.

Exploration in Chinese Turkestan.—The year 1913 witnessed a renewed activity in the archæological exploration of Chinese Turkestan. Germany was first in the field, Dr. von Le Coq having left Berlin at the end of March. He is expected back in May next. His operations have been chiefly in the neighbourhood of Kuchar, a region so productive previously, whence he will bring back a very large quantity of archæological, if not of literary, *trouvailles*.

From Paris, M. Gauthiot made a journey in the summer to the Pamirs, for the purpose of studying the Yaghnobe dialect. He has now returned. His *Soghdian Grammar* is now announced.

At the beginning of August, Sir M. A. Stein commenced his third expedition on behalf of the Government of India. He reached the Pamirs by an unexplored route from the Indus Valley via Chilas and the Darkot Pass, and arrived safely at Kashgar. His caravan was organized in due course, and he is now in the desert (see the *Geographical Journal*, December, 1913, pp. 540-599).

Exploration in Western Turkestan.—On May 1 of last year (1913) a party of eight left Munich, under the auspices of the Deutsch-Oesterreichischer Alpenverein, to explore the mountain regions of Eastern Bokhara.

The expedition, which was led by W. R. Rickmers, and included the geologist

Dr. von Klebelsberg, the topographer Dr. Deimler, and the meteorologist Professor von Ficker of Graz, started from Samarkand, and made its way eastwards by Sharshauz, Karatagh, and Garm, to the Range of Peter the Great. Leaving the Surkhob River, they proceeded southwards to the great plateau of Tupchek, whence various minor expeditions were organized for the ascent and study of the mountains and glaciers of this region.

An interesting feature of the journey was the exploration of the Garmo Glacier, the source of the Khingob River, until now unpenetrated by any European. The topographical work done here and elsewhere by the expedition will help to fill up many blank spaces in the map, while the observations on the geology and glaciation of the regions visited are of the highest value.

The Khingob Glacier was the most easterly, the Panj River the most southerly, point touched by the expedition, a part of which made its way back by Kuliab, Kabadian, Baisun, and Karshi, to Bokhara, while the other returned by a more direct route to Samarkand. The journey occupied about six months. In addition to scientific observations, about thirty different peaks were climbed by various members of the party.—C. M. R.

The Island of Rhodes.—We must seek probably in the general ignorance of the past history of Rhodes the solution of the fact that even the most classical of our British journals fail to grasp the idea that the history of the past may possibly, under fostering influences, have some bearing upon the future destiny of this island. Personally, ever since Italy occupied it, I have been allowing my mind to ruminate, academically, upon the possibility of restoring it to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. At a time when an ungrateful Europe, headed by Philippe IV. of France (Le Bel—Heaven save the mark!) and his creature, Clement V., were diabolically suppressing the Templars, and doing nothing themselves either to check the Turk or protect the Holy Land, the Hospitallers (*alias* Knights of St. John) were quietly occupying and fortifying Rhodes. The Byzantine Emperor of the moment, *Græculus esuriens*, could not protect Rhodes himself, and refused the Hospitallers' offer to hold it for him, acknowledging his suzerainty. The refusal decided the Grand Master to hold it without permission; and so well did they hold it that it was not until sixty-nine years after the Grand Signor had taken Constantinople that the Turks succeeded in driving them out. To tell the story of the sieges which they underwent, and of the incessant naval warfare which they waged against Turk and corsair, is beyond the scope of this short note. Their defence of Rhodes was magnificent; the history of the sieges must be read. For a time they held Smyrna, but Taimur (Tamerlane) the Lame drove them from it, and also, I think, took their fortified slave-refuge at Budrum, built of the masonry of the ancient Halicarnassus. Budrum for a century was the haven of refuge of the escaped Christian slave. If anyone would read of Rhodes, of the Knights, and of Budrum, I must refer him to the fine library at St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, the principal remnant of the old Grand Priory of England. If any would know what slavery in the hands of the Turk, or Moor, or Barbary corsair meant, let me refer him to Sir Lambert Playfair's "The Scourge of Christendom." The successful defence of Rhodes by the Knights in 1480 won for them the devotion of all Christendom. Their evacuation of it on January 1, 1523, *with all the honours of war*, after a six months' siege, drew from the lips of Charles V. the words, "Never was a place more nobly lost." Then he gave them Malta. This suffices to justify my contention that, theoretically, no one has a better right to Rhodes

than the Knights of St. John. Since 1523 many are the vicissitudes through which they have passed, viz. : The secession of the bailiwick of Brandenburg at the time of Luther's reformation; the suppression of the Order in England and Ireland by Henry VIII. in 1539, and in Scotland in 1563; and finally the revolution in France (1792) and Napoleon's seizure of Malta (1798). The Order has survived those vicissitudes, and holds a high position throughout Christendom, firstly by the distinction of many of those who are numbered among its members, and secondly by the eminence to which it has attained as a promoter of "first aid" and ambulance work. There exists first and foremost the Catholic Order, with its headquarters and Grand Master at Rome, and its grand priories in Austria, Italy, and Bohemia, and its "associations" in France, Spain, England, and Germany; secondly, the Johanniter Order at Berlin; and last, but not least in distinction and power, the Grand Priory of England. Independent as these three actually are of each other at this moment, there seems no reason why a closer union should not be formed. After two centuries of estrangement, the Brandenburg bailiwick returned, some time in the first half of the eighteenth century, into the fold of the Order. The Grand Priory of England has its Ophthalmic Hospital at Jerusalem on a site granted by the Sultan. The Johanniter Order holds the Muristan of Jerusalem, the old site of the Order's *chef-lieu*, presented, I believe, by the Sultan to the Crown Prince Frederick forty-five years ago. The French Republic has just shown that, though its earliest aspirations after "*liberté, égalité, fraternité*" took the form of unfettered madness, the reverence for the great traditions of the past has returned. France, with the consent of Italy and Turkey, has secured possession of the finest of the three old *auberges* (inns or hostels) which belonged to the French Knights of Provence, Auvergne, and France in the fifteenth century. Everyone knows that they stand to-day much as they were left, with the arms of their countries, Grand Masters, Grand Crosses, and Knights carved upon them.

Amid the obvious uncertainty which, owing to the susceptibilities of the Great Powers and the ambitions of Italy, Turkey, and Greece, encircles the destiny of the *Ægean* Islands, one possible solution of a difficult situation which might satisfy all suggests itself. It is understood that the *Ægean* Islands, when allotted, are not to be fortified or used as naval bases. Rhodes, administered by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem—and in making this suggestion I presume the united action of the *chef-lieux* of Rome, London and Berlin—under the guarantee of the Great Powers, would surely be, by the very cosmopolitanism of its administrators, exempt from such temptations as might be calculated to once more sow and foster the seeds of discord. The traditions of Rhodes claim for it emancipation from Turkish rule. If Christendom wills that no one Power holds it, then let the Knights hold it in the name of all the Powers. It has had a great commercial past. It will have a greater commercial future; for, whatever others may do, the Grand Priory of England will, we trust, extend to them the privileges of the "open door."—A. C. YATE.

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NOTE

THE Council of the Central Asian Society have had under consideration the project of enlarging their publications by the addition of short articles and notes on current events in the East. It is hoped to present four parts in each year. The current issue forms the second number.

PERSIAN FAMILY LIFE*

By MISS SYKES

THE Chairman (Sir MORTIMER DURAND) said there was no necessity to introduce an authority on Persia so well known as Miss Sykes.

A few months ago I was asked to read a paper on the subject of "Persian Social Life," and began it by saying that if the expression "social life" meant the meeting together of men and women for mutual entertainment, there was emphatically no such life in the Land of the Lion and the Sun.

People often inquire whether the Persian woman is emancipating herself; and certainly, according to all accounts, the rise of the Nationalist Movement was the occasion of a wonderful awakening on the part of the women of Tehran. In his book, "The Strangling of Persia," Mr. Morgan Shuster affirms that without the moral support of the "weaker sex" the movement would, in all probability, soon have vanished into a mere protest. He speaks in the strongest terms of the courage and patriotism of the veiled inmates of the "auderoon," saying that these women became "teachers, newspaper writers, founders of women's clubs, and speakers on political subjects." On one occasion they actually prevented the Medjlis from yielding to Russia's demands by marching in procession, three hundred strong, to the House of Assembly, many carrying revolvers, with which they threatened to kill their husbands, sons, and themselves if the Deputies failed to stand firm. The newspapers related that they sold their jewels freely to help the Cause, and again and again gave the men striking examples of devotion and self-sacrifice.

I myself was at Meshed for some months during this time, but, as far as I could learn, the anxiety of the women of Tehran for a Constitution and a social freedom borrowed from the West had not spread through those other parts of Persia which had not had intercourse with Europeans as has been the case at the capital for many years.

It still seems to me that the great mass of Persian women will wait upon their sisters in Turkey for their emancipation. The latter, from their position, are in touch with the West; they have made great

* Delivered January 14, 1914.

strides of late years, and when they succeed in shaking themselves free of the shackles imposed upon them by religion and by custom, the women of Iran will follow their example, and gain a measure of liberty.

It may be interesting to compare the lives of a Persian man and his wife, starting from their birth, and glancing at their probable experiences up to their death and future existence; and I think that it will be conceded that the man has the best of it both in this life and in the next.

When a child is about to be born, if the parents are well-to-do, two cradles are prepared and two suits of baby clothes, the one of silk and satin, and the other fashioned of common cotton material. All goes well if the new arrival be a boy. He is bedded in the silken cot; his nurse hastens with the joyful tidings to the father, confident that she will receive a gift; and a big feast will be held in the baby's honour, at which musicians and dancers will entertain the guests and many beggars will be fed.

But supposing that a girl makes her appearance, things are very different. "He that has no son, has no light in his eyes," runs the saying, and the poor mother feels that she may be divorced for failing to present her husband with an heir to carry on his name. The cotton cradle and common clothes are used for *this* baby, and the nurse approaches the father nervously, knowing that, instead of a gift, it may be her lot to receive the "bastinado." Of course there are no feasts and no congratulations in the case of one of whom it is said, "Woman is a calamity, but no house can be without this evil," and usually the little girl will grow up almost unnoticed, her inferior position being impressed upon her from the first.

When the baby boy is carried out for an airing, elaborate precautions are taken to shield him from the evil eye. The smart clothes, in which he is swaddled so tightly that he can only move head and hands as he lies on a cushion, are exchanged for those worn by poor children. This is done that he may attract no notice. If passers-by saw him arrayed like a young prince, they might express their admiration, and forget to couple "Mashallah" (God is great!) with their remarks, in which case the luckless infant would assuredly be visited by sickness. He is also hung with amulets, chief among which is a turquoise stuck into a sheep's eye, brought from Mecca at the time of the annual sacrifice. The turquoise (so named because it reached Europe by way of Turkey) is, owing to its colour, a wonderful safeguard against the "evil eye," its Persian name "*firzuza*" meaning good luck or victory, and the mines, which it is believed were worked in the time of the Achaemenian dynasty, are near Nishapur, where Omar Khayyam lived and sung. Those who cannot afford to wear turquoises have to be content with blue beads, with which they guard their animals and themselves against misfortune.

When little Hussein, as I will call him, leaves babyhood behind, his education begins, a "mulla," or priest, instructing him in reading, writing, learning his prayers, and reciting the Koran. As the sacred book is written in Arabic (a Persian translation having been produced comparatively recently), the boy will shout the "suras" in a kind of sing-song, without understanding what he is saying.

Writing is one of the fine arts in Persia, and Hussein will rest a piece of very shiny paper on his right knee, and begin on the *right-hand* side of the page with his reed pen, carefully drawing the letters and licking off the Indian ink with his tongue when he makes mistakes. He is now put in the charge of a couple of men-servants, and spends most of his days in the "biroon," or men's apartments, with his father, copying the manners of the latter to the best of his ability. His dress is that of a man in miniature, with its full-skirted frock coat, European trousers, and high astrachan hat, and he is taught that to run and romp is undignified.

At daybreak the muezzin rouses him by calling men to prayer from the minaret of the mosque, and Hussein, rising from his padded quilts, washes his face, hands, and feet, and then prostrates himself in adoration on his prayer-carpet. He turns in the direction of Mecca as he recites the "fatiha," or profession of faith, his forehead resting on a fragment of earth brought from the holy city, and the rosary he holds reminding us that the Crusaders are said to have introduced this aid to devotion into the Churches of Europe. His breakfast consists of bread, sweetmeats, and sugary tea, after which he is ready for the day's work. When his manners are formed, he will accompany his father on a round of visits, dealing out compliments in proportion to the rank of the recipients, such as "May your nose be fat," "The place of the Gaiety of the Empire has been vacant far too long," and so on; also he will learn the etiquette connected with the passing of the "kalian," or water-pipe, and the proper position to take if asked to seat himself upon the carpet. As chairs are a foreign innovation in Persia, all kneel and sit back on their heels, to the great detriment of the fit of their trousers, and they enter a room in stocking feet, leaving their shoes outside the door.

At noon Hussein will partake of an ample meal served on a leather cloth spread on the carpet, cakes of the thin Persian bread being used in lieu of plates. As there are no knives and forks, the "pillau" (a mound of rice and chopped-up meat and vegetables cooked with clarified butter), is eaten with the fingers, and the boy will be shown how to take food with his right hand from the common dish, mould it into a kind of sausage, and eat it without dropping a single grain of rice; he must also be able to take a ladleful of the fruit syrup from the big sherbet-bowl, and toss the contents into his mouth without touching the spoon with his lips. At the close of the meal he will hold out his greasy

right hand (it would be very bad manners to use his left), to the servant, who will pour rose-water over it and wipe it with a towel, and then he will throw himself upon the divan for a siesta.

Lessons in riding and shooting will complete Hussein's education. He will probably ride as if born in the saddle, but will have no idea of saving his horse, loving to race at full tilt, spurring his mount with his shovel-shaped stirrups, and when in mid career pulling the unlucky animal sharply back on its haunches with the cruel bit. He will greatly enjoy hunting the gazelle, or shooting partridge in the hills, and will go hawking. No game will be too insignificant for him, and he will keep in practice by letting off his gun at any cockyolly bird that he may come across.

In his hours of ease Hussein will sit with his friends sipping endless glasses of tea, smoking Shiraz tobacco, and capping quotations from the poets with them if he has a taste for literature. If he is a devout follower of the Prophèt, he will refrain from alcohol and games of chance, though the *jeunesse dorée* of his city will look upon him in consequence as being very strait-laced. As for his "career," he will probably follow the calling of his father, or try and get some small official post that entails little work.

In common with all his family, Hussein will have a firm belief in such unpleasant creatures as ghouls, jinns, and agrits. He will never sleep alone, as demons are popularly supposed to make away with youths during the hours of darkness; and he will be warned that it would be sheer madness to whistle at night, as a demon might construe this into an invitation to strangle him. Ghouls haunt graveyards, ruins, and lonely places, and such apparently simple acts as flinging away hot water or throwing a stone may bring down the wrath of a jinn upon the heedless boy, as the water can scald and the stone injure the malignant spirit. Hussein will learn a great deal about lucky and unlucky days, the taking of lots, and the meaning of dreams. If he is starting on a journey and one of the party happens to sneeze once as they are setting forth, it is a sign that disaster will befall if the expedition is persisted in; and it is only common prudence to insure safety by giving money to the beggars that haunt a rich man's door. He will also be told the importance of looking at a "lucky" face as he opens his eyes in the morning, the good and bad fortune of the day depending on this, and Persians never, if possible, engaging a servant who has an "unlucky" visage.

Meanwhile, how fares little Fatima, as I will call the other child? It is improbable that she will know how to read and write, and her attainments will consist in making sweetmeats and sherbets, in embroidering, and little else beside, presuming that her parents are rich.

The Persian house is divided into two sets of rooms opening upon courtyards, the rooms nearest the street being the "biroon," or men's

part, and the inner courtyard, the "auderoon," being devoted to the women. Here Fatima spends the greater part of her life, gossiping with the female servants, her chief amusements being the bath or rare outings to some garden outside the city. As she may never show her face to any man save her relatives, there are naturally no amusements in which both sexes join.

To the Persian *man* Friday means the public bath and a service at the mosque; but as Fatima can see and hear very little of the proceedings in the part screened off for women in the places of worship, she seldom goes. However, she looks upon a visit to the bath much in the light that an English girl would regard a party, and joyfully accompanies her mother and the servants. A black "chadar" covers her from head to foot, leaving only a small strip of white lace-work visible, through which she can see, her costume being completed by green or purple trousers and stockings combined. No one could possibly recognize her as she shuffles along in her heelless slippers; but when her outer wraps are removed, we see her in a short, very full skirt, that does not reach to the knee, and a little gauze jacket. After a prolonged immersion in the hot tank, followed by cold ablutions, the servants will dye Fatima's hair with indigo and henna, tint her nails and finger-tips scarlet with the latter dye, outline her dark eyes with kohl, and rouge her cheeks, and she will talk to the children of her mother's friends.

Of course marriage is the great event of her life, but she will have practically no choice in the matter. Her parents will arrange the whole affair, often betrothing her to a cousin or near relative in order to keep the property together. If not, her mother will be assisted by a "go between," some old woman who makes it her business to describe the charms and dowries of eligible daughters to the mothers of eligible sons. There will not be much delay in the matter, for the saying runs: "To do things quickly is of Satan, as God works slowly. But haste is permissible in three things—viz., to get a husband for your daughter, to bury your dead, and to set food before a priest."

When a suitable bridegroom is found, his mother and sisters come to inspect the bride, and now Fatima has her one chance of refusing the match. If she hands tea and sweetmeats in a rude manner to her would-be relatives, it is a sign that she objects, and the negotiations are broken off abruptly.

This, however, seldom happens, and probably Fatima and her mother pay, in their turn, a visit to the house that will be her home in the future; and as she sips her tea she will wonder whether Hussein is hiding behind some curtain in order to get a glimpse of her charms.

The next step is the public betrothal by the priest, and now the couple see one another for the first time, and Hussein has the opportunity of breaking off the match if he dislikes the rouged and powdered visage of his "fiancée." If, however, in the words of the Persian poet,

"Her face is like the full moon, and she waddles like a goose," Hussein will be charmed, and declare that she has "made roast meat" of his heart, and the wedding takes place with much feasting and music.

It does not occur to Hussein that Fatima is his equal, for he has been instructed in the wisdom of Saadi, who says that "to consult women brings ruin on a man," and he has often heard the proverb, "God is a man, therefore women must obey men."

He looks upon a wife as a chattel, a possession; and as his religion permits him to have four wives, Fatima is never certain that she may not be supplanted by a rival. If she displease her lord, he can be freed from her legally by saying "I divorce thee," three times, and if of a tyrannical disposition, he will be gratified to see her tremble in his presence. She will never feel really safe until she is the mother of a son, and in no case can there be real companionship between husband and wife in the Western sense, as they can never be seen together in public, and usually spend their days apart.

And even when the end comes, Hussein has apparently the best of it. If he has observed the times of daily prayer, has fasted during Ramazan, and given alms to the poor, he may die assured of Paradise, whatever his moral character may have been.

When he has breathed his last, in a room crowded with relatives and friends, his burial is hurried forward, as the corpse must be laid in the grave within twenty-four hours. Many will take turns in the meritorious act of carrying the bier to the cemetery, and the procession will go at a great pace in order to give the righteous man happiness as soon as possible. As soon as the earth is shovelled over the remains of Hussein, Munkir and Nakir, the black angels with blue eyes will appear to question him as to his orthodoxy, and he will raise himself by means of the sticks placed under his armpits in order to answer them. If they are satisfied as to his orthodoxy, he will triumphantly cross the bridge of Sirat, "finer than a hair and sharper than a sword," and enter the Abode of the Blest. To all eternity he will drink of the River of Milk, and as he lies in a mansion, surrounded by lovely gardens, a tree laden with his favourite dishes will thrust its branches through the windows, and at his desire will provide horses ready saddled and bridled; moreover he will be tended by houris of surpassing beauty, who sing ravishingly and make him forget the women he has known on earth.

But it is otherwise with Fatima. At one time it is said that the Prophet doubted whether women possessed souls at all, and we are told that he only conceded the point owing to the persuasions of Ayesha. He was once permitted a glimpse into hell, and said that the majority of those writhing in torment were women; and the Paradise he somewhat grudgingly granted them is apparently quite separate from that inhabited by the men, and not very easy of attainment.

As old age draws on, Fatima may be haunted by the terrors of a hell that sounds like the fantasy of a nightmare, and will sell her jewels in order to raise enough money to go on a pilgrimage. As Mecca is far away, and the journey costly, her thoughts may turn to the shrine of the Imam Reza at Meshed, and she will heroically endure the discomforts of the journey. Unless rich, she will spend many hours of each day crouched in a "kajaveh," or panier, on one side of a mule and her nights will be passed in the dirty and noisy rest-houses, until she sees the golden dome of the "Glory of the Shia World" glittering miles away in the translucent air. She and her party will prostrate themselves in joyous adoration, and she has the blessed certainty of going straight to Paradise if she dies in the holy city. Perhaps she will pass away at home, and the hired mourners will cry: "Weep for the sister who is lost—lost!" striking their breasts until the relatives and friends take up the dreary refrain: "Weep for the sister wandering in space—weep, weep, weep!"

Certainly, from an English point of view, the Persian woman, as compared with the Persian man, has the worst of it from the cradle to the grave and in the Hereafter, and one wonders whether a race that keeps its women in such bondage can make real progress in civilization.

There is, and has been, a "stirring of the dry bones" among the women of Tehran, and any steps that they may take in the direction of freedom will be watched with keen and sympathetic interest by their fortunate sisters in Great Britain.

Sir THOMAS HOLDICH said that his expectation of hearing a good many things that were new and a good many things that were most interesting had been fully realized. Once before, some years ago, he had the privilege of hearing Miss Sykes, in a lecture to the Society of Arts, recount her thrilling experiences in Canada and in the interests of a scheme she had at heart for the employment of the surplus womanhood of England in Canada. At the close a rather distinguished gentleman said to him: "Now, that's exactly what we want. Why don't more young women go out to Canada and imitate Miss Sykes?" It struck him then that there were not many women who possessed the requisite qualifications for following in her footsteps. It required a peculiar combination of physical endurance and energy, together with a determination to look all difficulties straight in the face and make the best of them. He hesitated, as a very old friend of Miss Sykes, to say much of her; but perhaps she would forgive him telling one little story about her, because it illustrated his point. It was a wild and windy night on the borders of Baluchistan, when they were in camp engaged on a delimitation, in accordance with a boundary settlement. They had been out all night struggling with

tent-ropes and other camp necessities against the storm, and were only able to crawl in in the early morning, battered and dishevelled, to get a little sleep under such limited shelter as was available. Rising early, he found Miss Sykes wandering about near the place that had been occupied by her demolished tent, looking for combs, tooth-brushes, and other articles for the feminine toilet. The loss of such things would be most annoying to most ladies, especially when no other lady was in camp to replace by loan the scattered articles. But, so far from being annoyed and distressed, she might have been picking primroses and hyacinths in an English garden on a spring morning, to judge from her manner and appearance. This was typical. She was always cheerful; she was their photographer, their mess manager. She was more generally useful than anyone else in camp, and its only ornament.

He doubted whether any lady had ever succeeded in getting so far into intimacy with the domestic life of Persia as Miss Sykes. She could not have lifted the veil so much if she had not been on good social terms with the people of the country. That raised the question whether we had done anything at all yet to bridge over the almost impassable gulf which existed between Oriental and Western thought; whether we really had succeeded in getting on anything like social equality with the Oriental. What Miss Sykes had done in Persia had been done more or less by many notable women in India, who had given their lives to the work; but what had been the outcome of it all? Were we a bit nearer to understanding the native? or did they understand us better? For his part, he could not say that this was so. Whatever progress there was, was certainly the result of our educational system in India; but it appeared to him that one result had been to make a small but very noisy section of the Indian community discontented with our rule and inclined more or less to promote sedition. That was a very unsatisfactory position. He thought the only people who were ever likely to succeed in getting on level terms with the domestic life of the East were ladies who, like Miss Sykes, would take a brave heart to the task of cultivating good fellowship with the people and trying to make friends amongst them. Possibly they might see some good results from the educational reforms now in process of evolution in India, although just now things were unsatisfactory. What the future might hold for us in this connection we could not possibly tell, but perhaps, when they had succeeded in spreading right education among the masses, they might see some good effects. But even this was uncertain, for he observed in the paper only on the previous day that one authority had argued that the proper diet of mankind was man.

Lieutenant-Colonel P. M. SYKES gave an account of a dinner party, an invitation to which he received unexpectedly from a Persian lady

when staying at Shiraz many years ago. The dinner was given in honour of the British Resident, and there was serious discussion in the Persian home whether he (the speaker) should be asked, objections being urged that he was too young, and unmarried. But as they understood that he possessed a steady mind (his position as a Consul presupposed a serious bent), he was included in the invitation. The lady possessed two beautiful daughters, but they were not at the table. The hostess did the honours with the most perfect grace. He saw her looking frequently at an upper verandah, and concluding that the daughters were hidden behind the folds of the curtain, he caught a glimpse of them now and then. They went back to the Residency after having enjoyed a very novel experience. By way of returning the hospitality, he invited his hostess and her lady friends to witness a polo match. A tent was fixed up and everything was arranged for the convenience of the ladies secluded within. He was told that it would be etiquette to send a note to them. With the help of his Persian secretary he wrote two lines on the model of the "Shahnama." The match being between reds and whites, he wrote: "When the reds appeared on the polo ground, encouraged by the sighs of fairy-faced beauties, they won the match." The note, which was most artistically written, was presented by a good-looking boy on a silver tray, on which a beautiful Kerman shawl was placed, and was received with ripples of merry laughter.

The CHAIRMAN: You will all join with me in thanking Miss Sykes for her lecture and the pictures she has shown. I spent some six years in Persia, and during that time I had the happiness to make the acquaintance of Miss Sykes and her distinguished brother. They are the greatest living authorities on Persia. Major Sykes, who has spent a good many years in the country, has distinguished himself by the remarkable activity and skill with which he has applied himself to his work, and has learned more about the country than any living man. Miss Sykes, who was with us at the Legation in Tehran for some time, went with her brother across Kerman, and took the life of Persia very much in the same spirit as he did, learning more about the country than any other woman probably knows. Hence the delightful lecture to which we have listened to-night.

Miss Sykes has got the idea that the position of women in Persia is not altogether desirable. I don't know; that is a woman's point of view. One thing is certain: ladies in England ought to be satisfied with their position. I think that is a moral we are entitled to draw from what we have heard to-night.

SIX MONTHS IN THE TIAN SHAN MOUNTAINS*

By C. HOWARD BURY

SIR EVAN JAMES presided, and while expressing regret that the Chairman (Sir Mortimer Durand) was unable to be present, said it gave him great pleasure to introduce Mr. Bury, who had spent some adventurous months in a very secluded part of the Chinese border.

The accounts that I had read, the glowing descriptions of the flora and fauna of the Tian Shan Mountains, and the wonderful scenery there, had long given me a desire to travel in this part of China, but circumstances did not permit of it until last year. Originally I had intended to work my way north from India, but owing to various difficulties and objections, I determined instead to come south from the Siberian Railway. The main difficulties are to obtain leave from the Russian Government, first to travel in Turkestan, then to import fire-arms into the country. Thanks to the kindness of friends, and to His Excellency Count Benckendorff's assistance, the permits were obtained, and towards the end of May I reached Moscow. Finding the International Express full, I left by the ordinary daily train which, though it takes longer and meals have to be snatched hurriedly at the buffets of the railway stations, yet on the whole the travelling was more comfortable, and more typically Russian. On arrival at Omsk, the drive from the station to the town gave me a foretaste of what to expect in the long drive before me; the road was, as usual, unmetalled and full of enormous holes, with a choking dust inches deep everywhere. In the spring and autumn, owing to the mud, this road is often impassable. At the best hotel in Omsk there was some difficulty about getting a bath, as the key of the bathroom had been lost. However, impertunity was at last successful. Omsk lies on the right bank of the Irtysh, which is nearly three-quarters of a mile wide here; and every day during the summer months steamers ply from Omsk to Semipalatinsk laden with agricultural implements and with emigrants on their way south. The steamers are large, burn wood, and though of rather a flimsy make, yet are very comfortable. After five days of the dullest of scenery we reached Semipalatinsk, where the long

* Read March 11, 1914.

drive of 1,100 versts to Kuldja began. The moment I stepped ashore, I was stopped by police, who inquired after my object in coming here. However, the permits satisfied them, and I was allowed to proceed. Here, after much bargaining, I bought a Tarantass for the journey in order to avoid unloading the luggage at every post-station, and also to avoid travelling in some of the antediluvian baskets that are kept on the road for travellers, and which must have been almost existent in the time of Marco Polo. The next nine days were spent travelling day and night, whenever horses were procurable. As there are fewer travellers on this road than on the southern road, we were able to get along pretty fast. No attempt has been made to build a road. The most that has been done is to build a bridge over an impassable river. The driver goes where he thinks the ground is likely to be smoothest. As all officials, officers, or Government clerks, together with their wives and families, take precedence of the ordinary traveller, and as scarcely any Russian out here is anything but an official, the time spent in enforced waits at the various post-stations is very considerable. The post road, after leaving Semipalatinsk, went almost due south, and after some 200 versts, passed through Sergiopol, a small garrison town, then on to Kopal, where there were more soldiers. The latter place is very prettily situated at the foot of the Alatau. With the exception of a few willows at Sergiopol, here were the first trees that we had met since leaving Semipalatinsk. The whole country up to now had been a treeless steppe, with patches of desert. From now on we were in one of the finest grazing parts of Asia. All along the road, and throughout the province of Semiretchinsk, the Government are forming settlements of Moujiks from Russia, giving them a grant of land and paying most of their expenses out here. They seem already to be doing well, though they have only settled here a short while. The settlers have driven over into China great numbers of the nomad Kirghiz and Kazaks, who formerly used to inhabit this country, and who are now having their lands appropriated by Russian Moujiks. The post road now kept between four and six thousand feet, until it dropped suddenly down into the Ili Valley. Here the soil was a fertile loess, and the vegetation was completely altered. Passing through Jarkent, a large military station near the Chinese frontier, we were delayed by a lengthy examination of passports. However, the next morning, crossing over the mile-wide stony bed of the Khorgos River, and passing through a big castellated gate, we suddenly found ourselves in Chinese territory. A sleepy Chinese official, surrounded by some slovenly looking soldiers, demanded my passport; and after copying it down with great labour into a book, we were allowed to proceed, and after travelling all day through deserted towns and villages, through what had once been a well irrigated country, we arrived at Kuldja. Kuldja is a town rapidly

increasing in size, and very prosperous. Wages are extremely high, and Chinese and Sarts come here from all parts, work for a month or so, and then live for the rest of the year on what they have earned; or else, working here for three or four years, they can then retire with a comfortable fortune and spend the rest of their days in ease. There is a Russian post office here, and a branch of the Russo-Chinese Bank, which was here issuing its own notes for local currency, as owing to the Chinese revolution the value of the Chinese money had dropped enormously, and the Chinese notes were of practically no value. There is a Russian Consulate, with a large Cossack guard of three hundred men. The Russian Consul, Monsieur Brodianski, and his wife were most charming and hospitable, and I spent many pleasant hours in their house. There is also a Belgian Mission under Father Raemdonck, who was always most kind, and who arranged to send out my letters, and also fresh vegetables whenever it was possible. I only stopped long enough at Kuldja to collect a caravan, which consisted of ten ponies, with Rahmah Khan and Ashim to look after them. These two men proved most excellent workers, and never gave me the slightest trouble; so that it was with real regret that we parted five months later. The most important man in the caravan was John Pereira, who was not only a very good cook, but also knew all the local languages, and had a great way of getting on with the local inhabitants.

After leaving Kuldja, we passed through numerous opium fields—such a gay scene with all the poppies in flower—until, after going about sixteen miles, we came to the ferry-boat across the Ili. All the luggage was packed on board; some of the horses went on the ferry-boat, others were tied in front to drag it across as they swam, and the remainder were being driven into the water to swim across, when one broke away, and an hour was wasted in getting him back again. By this time a violent gale from the west had sprung up, which here they call a *buran*; we all cowered at the bottom of the boat, as it was impossible to cross. Everything was blotted out by sand. This continued till after dark, when the wind dropped, and with great difficulty we managed to put up the smallest tent, as it began to rain, and continued to do so all night. The morning, however, broke fair, and we got across without difficulty. The caravan now headed nearly due south to the mountain range which divided the Ili Valley from the Tekes Valley. This range was crossed by the Su-assu (river-road) Pass, so called because the path crossed and recrossed the little mountain torrent hundreds of times; the scenery was very pretty; we kept in a narrow gorge, where wild geraniums, campanulas, yellow and white roses, wild apricot-trees, spiræas, and aquilegias abounded. There was also a very pretty garlic like a miniature agapanthus, and of a glorious blue colour. On the summit of the pass we passed some

Kirghiz, who had come over from Russian territory to settle in China. Then followed a long descent to the Tekes Valley, which is from thirty to forty miles in width. The next day we crossed the river by a cantilever bridge. This bridge had been built for twenty years, but this summer, in August, it was washed away for the first time. It is only in autumn that the river is fordable, and so the bridge earns a large revenue, as out of every hundred sheep that cross, one is taken as a toll.

Just as I was leaving Kuldja, some hunters had caught and brought in a baby bear only a few weeks old. This I persuaded them to sell to me, and the bear accompanied me in all wanderings, riding on the back of a pack pony between the loads.

After crossing the Tekes, I called on the mandarin in charge of the valley, who was very civil and obliging, and who promised every assistance. After crossing the Koksū by another cantilever bridge, camp was pitched in the Little Kustai Valley by the side of a rushing stream. The head man of the *äul* here, a Kirghiz, insisted on my drinking large bowls of koumiss—mildly fermented mare's milk, and not at all a bad drink on a hot day. He then came and watched camp being pitched. Desirous of showing his prowess at fishing, he called for his fishing-rod, a stout pole, over an inch in diameter at the top end, and on this was a piece of string, to which was fixed a large iron hook without a barb; on this was put a worm, and the whole gently lowered into a pool. In about a minute he felt a pull, and raising rod and all with a sharp jerk, the fish was deposited on the bank. In a very short time he had caught eight fish, which he presented to me. The fish were mostly about half a pound in weight, prettily coloured, and covered with curly marks of brown and gold; but they were bottom-feeders, had their mouth underneath, and were armed with two suckers. Wishing to take a photograph of the fisherman, I was just about to do so, when he stopped me, and producing two medals out of his pocket, given him by the Chinese Government, he pinned these on, and then submitted to be photographed. We had now entered an upland country between 6,000 and 8,000 feet in height, covered with the most luxuriant grass; nearly every flower that is grown in gardens in England seems to exist in its wild state here. On these plateaux the Kasaks and the Kirghiz have their summer camp, and at every *äul* that I passed the owner insisted on my coming in and drinking bowls of koumiss, milk, or cream. Sometimes, as a great treat, it was tea, prepared with salt and sour milk. The lady of the house would make the tea, then stew it for a bit over the fire, while a bowl was passed round, and everyone washed their hands. To clean the cups the hostess poured a little tea into each cup, swished it round, and drank it up afterwards; salt was then added, followed by tea and milk, and flat bread, rather like giant chupatties, was then handed

round, and the guests broke off pieces, softening them in their tea. If the hostess saw that my cup was not emptied after some while, she would insist on drinking it up herself, and pouring me out a new lot. The mixture was so nasty it almost used to make me ill every time I had to drink it. We now began to get higher up, and made our way through magnificent fir forests of the *Picea schrenkiana*, many of these trees being, I am sure, over 200 feet in height. I measured one fallen giant, by no means a very big one, and found his girth to be 20 feet and his height over 165 feet. The undergrowth was composed of willows and mountain ash, the latter at this time of year being covered with white flowers, and forming a delightful contrast to the sombre green of the fir-trees. We passed the valley of the Big Kurstai and numerous auls on the way, then, rising through the fir forests, we came into the most delightful meadows, covered with every species of wild Alpine flowers. Fields there were of red phloxes, Japanese anemones, snapdragons, the big double yellow ranunculus, [edelweiss, calculated to make a German green with envy, marsh marigolds, great yellow poppies, flaxes, sweet-scented aquilegias, and many other varieties. At the lower heights, white and yellow were the two commonest colours, but between 8,000 and 10,000 feet blues and purples took the place of white. On some of the Alpine meadows, over 10,000 feet in height, we came on masses of iris and primulas; at times for many miles we used to ride over pansies, blue, yellow, white, and every shade up to deep purple. The views here were now superb in this extraordinarily clear air of Central Asia, right across the Ili and Tekes Valleys to the great snowy range that lies to the south of Manass.

That evening we dropped into the Kurdai Valley, and next morning, in unsettled weather, started to cross the Kurdai Pass. The Russian maps marked this as 6,700 feet in height, and I was still wearing fairly thin clothes, not expecting to find the pass only just under 13,000. All the way up, with the exception of the last 1,000 feet, the flowers were magnificent; anemones and primulas covered the ground the moment the snow had disappeared. The day grew worse as we proceeded, and snow fell heavily, and it was only with considerable trouble that, after floundering in numerous drifts, we reached the summit of the pass. Our difficulties, however, instead of being over, were now to begin, for on starting to go down we were faced with a 25-foot snow cornice. We therefore scattered along on either side to try and find a way down, and eventually we found one across the snow, but the snow was soft and the horses stuck; they all had to be unloaded, dug out, and were only rescued with great trouble and long delay. At last, just as it was getting dusk, we got out of the deep snow and came into a blinding snowstorm, which made the going very slippery. After dark we reached a place where there were some bushes, and camped there.

My camera I discovered then had been left, in the excitement, on the top of the pass; so next morning Kulde Beg, whom we had engaged temporarily as a guide, was sent back to retrieve it. He found it buried under the snow, but none the worse for the exposure. The following afternoon we crossed over the Sarytur Pass and camped on the far side, at a height of just 11,000 feet, near the sheep ground.

The country to the east side of the Sarytur Pass was completely different to that on the west. We had left behind the deep valleys and rocky peaks, and were now on a great plateau, covered with rounded hills, clothed with grass, that extended right away to the Yulduz Plains. Riding over these hills on the lookout for the wild sheep, the *Ovis Karelini*, the horses kept constantly getting bogged, and my shikari and I would both be dismounted somewhat ungracefully. These bogs are caused by the water from the melting snow sinking into the ground and remaining there in places where there was insufficient drainage to take it away. It was often quite impossible to distinguish these treacherous places from the solid ground, so the horses were constantly getting bogged. The next day came one of those sudden changes of weather, and everything was covered with a fresh mantle of snow some 8 inches deep. Having exhausted all the firewood that we had brought with us from the last camp, as there is none here, a march was made to a lower camp. The new camp was pitched at the foot of a very curious hill, called by the local people *Karagai Tash*, which means stone fir-trees, so called from their resemblance to trees in the distance. The whole hill is composed of a conglomerate of rounded pebbles, and patches of this, probably from being of a harder composition, have escaped complete erosion, and this has resulted in a series of the most extraordinary rock shapes—thin walls only 5 or 6 feet thick, and 300 feet in height, pinnacles and towers of the most fantastic shape. At times, when among these pillars and battlements of stone, it seemed almost as if they were of human creation, so regular were they in appearance.

Not finding the sheep here, Tola Bai, the Kazak hunter, thought that we had better first try lower down the Koksus Valley, so we moved two marches lower down the valley, getting once more among the lofty snow and rock peaks. On the way, and, in fact, all over this country, there are curious spikes and clubs of thorns growing, covered with white flowers, which give a weird appearance to the landscape.

In the Kinsu Valley we failed to find any sheep, but there the sheep ground bordered on the ibex ground, and I was able to shoot two of the large Tian Shan ibex. The scenery and the views were glorious from here; the days were brilliantly clear, and the lofty snow-peaks of the main chain of the Tian Shan stood up with unrivalled beauty to the south of the Koksus. Camp was now moved some three marches up to the head of Koksus Valley, where the river takes its rise

in a glacier. Here in some of the smaller side valleys, among the moraines below the glaciers, were herds of wild sheep; there was at least one herd in every valley, and many an exciting stalk I had after them, some of which ended successfully. After several camps near the head-waters of the Koksū, I moved over on to the Yulduz Plain; but not finding much game there, and the climate being extremely cold and windy at those heights, with no fuel beyond what we carried with us, we moved down to the left bank of the Koksū and camped a little way up the Mustamas Valley. The scenery now was very grand, lofty rocky peaks hemmed in the two valleys, and the gorges up the eastern and western valleys were very imposing. During the first week in August a heavy fall of snow of 13 inches delayed matters considerably, and shooting was impossible, as avalanches were coming down all round. From this camp two bears were shot, several roedeer, and some ibex; but it was ibex that I was chiefly after, and day after day in search of them we rode up the eastern valley, fording and re-fording the icy waters of the river. Tola Bai refused every time to go up the west valley, saying that it was quite impossible to get up it, until I went there one day and, after searching for some hours, found a ledge round the cliffs which had been built up with old poles, and on which we were able to lead our ponies. I found out later that there was a pass up this valley which led to Kuchar, and which, owing to the raids made by horse-stealers into the plains, the Chinese authorities had closed. Nearly three weeks were spent in this camp, and then towards the end of August camp was gradually moved down the Koksū Valley.

Tola Bai and I rode over the intervening ridge between Mustamas and the first side-valley called Kair-Bulak, or the Whetstone Springs. The ponies and baggage had a long march round to get there. It was on this day that luck enabled me to shoot the finest ibex I ever saw. On the way up we passed quite close, not a hundred yards, from a herd of ibex, but as there was nothing very big among them they were left alone; but on crossing over the ridge, high up on the far side of the valley, with the telescope we made out a big herd in which there were several very large heads. Then the clouds came down and hid them from view; however, that evening we got the two largest heads out of the herd, one of them measuring 58 inches in length. Camp was now moved every few days a little lower until we were among the fir-woods. From the beginning of September the wapiti, who inhabit these forests, are supposed to start calling, and it is then possible to locate them. Until they start calling it is almost impossible to find them, and many weary weeks were spent among the thickest of undergrowth, chiefly willows, looking for these elusive beasts. The horses had, of course, to be left behind, and day after day was spent in searching these forests for a sign of a stag. The search, however, led me into some of the

most beautiful scenery in the Tian Shan, and, indeed, I might say in the world. Every few days a new valley was tried, for it was impossible to know where the stags might be; some valleys had forests clinging to the mountain sides, and above them towered precipices of immense height. Sometimes these valleys dwindled into the narrowest of gorges, with only a thin undergrowth at the bottom. Everywhere nearly were traces of the wapiti, but those that were seen were only small and immature stags. At times the chase would lead us into broad flowery meadows, with belts of trees dotted about here and there as though in a park. Always somewhere far away near to the sky were glaciers to complete the beauty of the picture. In one valley, called Akbulak (White Springs), where I had several camps (so called from the extraordinary whiteness of the water), the scenery was exceptionally fine. The vegetation was most luxuriant, and on the grassy meadows within a hundred yards of camp one evening, just as it was getting dusk, I came across two stags, but they were both small. Hearing that there was a big lake up the valley, I went up one day to visit it; it was caused partly by immense rock-falls, and partly by an old moraine which had filled up the valley to a depth of 700 feet. On the far side among the débris I came across a bear digging, and shot him. At this time of the year the bears remain high up above the tree-line, as a rule, and spend their time in digging out the marmots which abound everywhere throughout the mountains. At this time of year, just before their winter sleep, the marmots get very fat, and the bears promptly go to enormous trouble to dig them out. They have many enemies besides. The Kalmuck will lie for hours close to their holes, and shoot them as soon as they come up. An eagle I saw carry one off one day in its claws as it skimmed over the ridges in search of prey. Another time I watched for hours a wolf digging up a marmot, until he had completely buried himself, so that it is no wonder the poor marmot is always whistling in fright. Other animals, however, take but little heed of his cry of alarm, for I often frightened them when stalking sheep; the sheep would, however, as a rule, only look up and then go on feeding again.

Near the head of the Akbulak Valley we came across the most beautiful mountain lake; its colour was of the blue of the old Persian turquoise. The lake was from two and a half to three miles in length, and in the shape of a half-moon, with an extreme width of about a mile; it lies at a height of about 11,000 feet. All round were magnificent snow-peaks and huge cliffs, that came sheer down into the lake from immense heights, while here and there were hanging glaciers and shining cliffs of ice. It is impossible to walk round the lake, as the cliffs everywhere come sheer down into its blue waters. At times the lake is much fuller, as the high-water mark extended about 10 feet above its present level. I climbed some 1,700 feet up a great spur

that projected into the lake, and from there had a superb view. From here I could see the pass across the main chain of the Tian Shan, over which hunters, in the spring, come from Kuchar, in Chinese Turkestan, to hunt the wapiti in these valleys for their horns, which when in velvet, have for the Chinese a great value as medicine, and which fetch as much as £10 to £12 a head. At my feet lay this superb lake, and beyond were the countless peaks of the central range of the Tian Shan. From the far side were rolling up dense clouds in grand masses—clouds that I should not be surprised to find connected with the monsoon in India. The moist current, if it is so, must have passed over the Himalayas and then across the deserts of the Tarim basin before striking the Tian Shan, but throughout the summer all the bad storms seemed to come from the south, while local thunderstorms and light showers came up out of the west.

From this point of vantage there was a fine view of the Akbulak Pass, and even at this time of year, mid-September, there was no snow on the north side; the pass must be about 13,500 feet in height, and somewhat trying for animals, owing to the steep shale slopes. The reason why neither this pass nor the Alpes Ochak ones are used for traffic is that for the greater part of the year the Koksus is unfordable, and there are no bridges over it.

The next camps were in the Alpes Ochak Valley (Sixty Fireplaces) so called because, many years ago, a body of Chinese soldiers passed through, and in one place kindled sixty fires for cooking, and this has given the valley its name for ever afterwards. This valley, a tributary valley to the south of the Koksus, had in turn many tributary valleys, thickly wooded. In most of these I had bivouacs. It was now getting towards the end of September, and the nights were becoming chilly with constant falls of fresh snow; but here luck befriended us at last, and two good wapiti heads were secured. One bivouac, which I called Eagle's Nest Camp, in Kenbulak Valley, was perched on the top of a ridge, with grand views down into the valley on both sides; but though it was very pleasant to get down into the valleys, yet the 3,000 to 4,000 feet climb in the evening, after a long day, was most exhausting. Once the second wapiti, which was a very fine specimen, had been secured, we turned our footsteps back towards Kuldja. On October 1 we started to leave the Koksus Valley; this was a day of disaster, which I shall not soon forget. Soon after starting a blizzard came on, then John had a touch of mountain sickness; one of the ponies slipped in a very steep place on the frozen ground, covered as it was with a few inches of fresh snow, and disappeared out of sight. On getting to a smoother place, two men were left behind to pick up the remains, while the others went on towards the pass. Tola Bai, however, in the mist and snowstorm lost his way, and we wandered all over the place, and it was not till just before dark that the summit of the pass

was reached. The cold was considerable now, and one's beard and moustache were frozen together. The descent on the north side of the pass appeared at first quite impracticable as the snow was over 3 feet deep, and the descent was extremely precipitous, with great rocks sticking up here and there out of the snow. Tola Bai started down, but after going a few yards his pony stuck and broke a leg, and had to be killed. The others managed to glissade down some 300 feet; but all the loads nearly came off, and were scattered in the snow. Here the ground was a little flatter, and as it was now quite dark we had to stop. The horns helped to anchor the tents in the snow, but we all passed a most unpleasant night here in the snow, at a height of nearly 13,000 feet. The next day the weather cleared up, the various loads were collected, and that evening we got down to the fir-trees, and were able to light big fires to thaw out the frozen garments and dry them, as well as to cook some food.

The next day's march was all through fir-woods, rendered very slippery by the melting snow. Towards evening we came out into the grassy plateau just below the tree-line. The summer camping-grounds here were mostly deserted now, as the Kirghiz and Kazaks had moved lower down to their winter camping-grounds. There was, however, one *äul* left, where there was a very fine hunting golden eagle, that had been caught the year before, and which had been trained to catch roedeer and foxes. The latter especially abound in these parts. We now gradually descended into the Tekes Valley, passing many fields of millet, which had just been cut and which were full of pheasants. When people are not rich enough to own sufficient horses, the children and women especially are mounted on oxen, which are saddled just as though they were horses; their speed, however, is not great. A poor man cannot marry; but if he has a sister or two, with the dowries that he gets for these, he can then buy and marry a wife himself.

Finding that the fields near the broad bed of the River Tekes were morning and evening full of pheasants, I stopped to have a couple of days' pheasant-shooting. The river bed is filled with a prickly shrub, with grey leaves and orange berries; here at night the pheasant roosts, and in the winter, when the ground is covered with snow, they feed on these orange berries. Finding that the pheasants, whenever disturbed, used to fly down to these bushes, I used to walk along the bank of the river under cover, while a couple of men in the fields sufficed to put the birds up, and afforded many a sporting shot. It was quite useless to attempt to walk them up in the fields; the pheasants could be seen running along about 200 yards ahead in tens and twenties. They were of the ordinary Mongolian variety, with broad white rings round their necks. During the time that I was in the mountains I caught a couple of young Brahminy ducks, which I kept for some time, and

horse fell and they were crushed under the loads. I also caught a couple of the young snowcocks, and tried to bring them up, but, unfortunately, without success.

On return to Kuldja, the place was found to be in an uproar, as there had been a kind of revolution. Two of the head mandarins, Fungtoming and Li, had their heads cut off and exposed outside their Yamen, and the heads of some twenty smaller mandarins had also been removed.

Only a week before this Yuan Shikai had been elected President of the Chinese Republic for a term of six years, and this was one of his first acts. Three times when he was only Provisional President had he summoned the offending mandarins to Peking, and three times had they refused. Yuan Shikai now proved that even in the most distant province of China it is not permitted three times to disobey orders from Peking. These mandarins during the revolution had appointed themselves to office. Fungtoming was only a small tailor by trade, but a very ambitious man. These two men then started to issue a paper currency without any reserve of silver or even copper to back it up. The result was that the value of this paper fell every week. Several million seers of it were issued during their rule, and at the beginning of the revolution the seer and the rouble were approximately the same value; but by the autumn of 1913 the value of the seer became only a quarter of a rouble. People were forced to accept this paper currency; most, when they could, changed it into Russian roubles, but many held on, hoping that the Government would eventually redeem this paper currency either at its proper value or a little below it. As matters are at present, many people have lost three quarters of their money, and among these are a good many Russian subjects. It is quite possible that if the Central Government at Peking do not take some action to guarantee this currency, the Russians will have a pretext for interfering, for as matters stand many of their traders are losing heavily at present.

It was curious to remark that during the quasi-revolution, when these two mandarins had their heads cut off, the value of the Chinese paper currency suddenly rose from 4 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ seers to the rouble, though at the time the people had no idea that it was done under orders from Peking. That Russia would like to have a pretext to enable her to regain this province is certain, as the country is extremely fertile and rich. Within twelve miles of Kuldja there are some five coal mines being worked, and the coal, too, is very near the surface. The soil is everywhere a loess, and only wants water to enable it to grow almost anything.

It was on November 1 that I finally said good-bye to Father Raemdonck, who rode out several miles beyond Kuldja to see us safely off. We had tried to start the day before, but the driver going too recklessly

in the city had got caught between two Chinese country carts, and had smashed the axle. The recollection of this drive of 1,140 versts to Tashkent, along the southern road through Semiretchinsk, is not a pleasant one, as we spent no less than twenty-three days on doing it. The weather was at times bad, the roads were worse, and the horses kept at the post stations quite insufficient for the traffic. It took two days to get to the Russian frontier, a distance which had been covered in one before. Then came a snowstorm, and though in the valley there was little snow, yet on the higher ground there was a considerable amount of wet snow which made the going very heavy indeed. The snow lasted as far as Iliisk, where the Ili River is crossed by a fine wooden bridge. As we approached Verny the roads became worse and worse; owing to there being more traffic here, they became more and more cut up, and the soil being of a more clayey nature made the going exceptionally difficult. In Verny itself the mud was beyond description. At the corners of the streets there were high stepping-stones to enable the pedestrian to cross the streets. Here, in the main street, our cart, though drawn by three horses, stuck in the mud, and had to be dug out. How on earth the Russians living in Verny—a large town and the capital of the province of Semiretchinsk—can continue to endure such an abomination is not easily to be understood. The place is full of engineers, but there does not seem one that is capable of making even a passable road. There are a few well-built and well-kept houses here, but most of them are of wood and one-storied. The town is prettily situated, with plenty of fine trees all round, and to the south lie a lofty range of snowy peaks. Verny is renowned for its apples, which are large and of a very good flavour. They are exported as far as Moscow and St. Petersburg, where they fetch very high prices.

All along the road we passed strings of camels, of the Bactrian variety, which do not seem to mind the awful mud. The next town was Piskek, where again the muddy roads were worse than ever. Whenever I grumbled I was told this was nothing to what they were in spring; if the mud was a foot deep now, it was 2 feet deep then, and it was often difficult for the post to cover twelve versts in a day.

After Piskek, for nearly ninety versts, we passed through a continuous series of new colonies that had been planted here, and houses lined the road on both sides almost the whole distance. The houses were well built, with thatched roofs, and the peasants, though they had not been here long, seemed prosperous. The winter in these parts is short. It is not very cold, though the snowfall is often considerable. In a few years' time a railway is to be built from near Kabul-sai, a station north of Tashkent through Chimscent and Aulieta to Piskek. Local gossip estimated the time of completion from two to five years; the latter estimate would be the most accurate I should think. From Piskek the line is to be produced to Verny, and then on to Kapal and Semipalatinsk.

and eventually to Barnaul. The money for the railway comes from France, but very little has been done so far beyond surveying the line.

There are but few engineering difficulties, and it ought not to be a costly line to build. No doubt some day a branch line would be produced to Kuldja, and possibly even farther into China. After a few years the railway ought certainly to pay, as the country through which it will pass is an extremely rich one.

For the last 400 versts to the railway station the Government runs the post road, and only keeps sufficient horses for the post and for a few Government officers; the other travellers have to hire at exorbitant rates. Some Russian engineers that I met constantly on the road, as we were going in the same direction, were most hospitable, and insisted on my taking my meals with them, as they had laid in proper supplies of food for the road.

At Aulieta we were delayed a day by heavy snowstorms, and the going was terribly heavy, as it invariably thawed during the day, but froze at night. At one place I was much amused watching some Cossacks, evidently very hard up for cash, who sold my driver a regimental shirt for half a rouble, and another one sold him a pair of gloves. Soldiers are very much the same all the world over. On the twenty-third day after leaving Kuldja we reached the railway station at Kabul-sai, and on the following morning arrived at Tashkent. The remainder of the journey was then plain sailing—first to Samarkand for a few days, then to Bokhara, and then on to Krasnovodsk, and across the Caspian Sea to Baku; by train over the Caucasus to Batoum, and on by tramp steamer to Constantinople, and once more to Western civilization and its luxuries.

To me at any rate, and, I think, also to most people, whether we walk, or whether we ride, or whether we drive, the most abiding joy of travel will always lie in the retrospect. The memories of some days, of some scenes where the world appears altogether too beautiful for us, where we can only gaze in awe and rapture at some marvellous creation of the Almighty, such memories as these are truly a possession which we can treasure as our own, and which will remain always to us as a source of inexhaustible pleasure and delight when we look back upon the days of our travelling.

COLONEL PEMBERTON said he had the good fortune to go over most of the ground described by the lecturer some twenty-three years ago, and could vouch for the accuracy of the descriptions they had heard. In a great many respects he had recalled to him most vividly the features of the country, but in Central Asia changes were evidently taking place, for the lecturer mentioned not a few civilizing developments on the Russian side of the Russo-Chinese border. When he travelled in those parts in 1891, and again in 1892, the country was open prairie land

awaiting development, and was inhabited by nomad Kirghiz. It was extremely rich south of Kopal, being a loam soil with beautiful wild vegetation, such as the lecturer had described. That it would become a productive country when duly peopled could not be questioned. But in this connection there was an extremely interesting point. For many years writers on Central Asia, of various nationalities, including the Russians themselves, held that it was doubtful whether Russians would ever be able to colonize the country to the south of the Irtysh River—that is, whether Russian children could be reared there. But now it appeared that emigration was taking place into those regions, which meant that the trend of population was no longer exclusively westwards toward the Amur, but was also towards the south, indicating that the Russians were finding that they could live and breed healthy children in these hotter regions. The recognition of this fact would ultimately mean a filling up of the empty spaces in Russian-Turkestan, and a consequent development of the resources of the Russian Empire, and increased populations from which to recruit the army. But he personally doubted whether the Russians would be able to settle in Central Asia so far south as Tashkent, Samarcand, and Bokhara. The roads in the regions described by the lecturer still seemed to be as bad as in his day, but with the building of railways the backward condition of things in respect to communications would be greatly altered.

COLONEL A. C. YATE said that the lecture had recalled to his mind a journey by tarantass which he took with General Sir James Hills-Johnes in 1890 from Samarcand to Tashkent. They lay side by side in the tarantass with their heads pillowed on bags and rugs, through heat by day and cold by night, and dust which, with a following wind, threatened to suffocate them. One curious incident was that they were held up for a time. The Tashkent Exhibition was in progress, and a general invitation had been given for all comers to attend it, otherwise no English officers would have been permitted to travel by the Trans-Caspian Railway at that time. So they were not greatly surprised to be stopped. But they wired to General Annenkoff, who made the Trans-Caspian Railway, and who was then at Samarcand, and he telegraphed to the post-house authorities to let them proceed.

Mr. Bury's experience of tea-drinking among the Kirghiz reminded him of offers of refreshment he had had in Burma or the Shan States. There, too, the natives drank tea with salt, and, like the lecturer, he had left most of it in the cup. He wished to congratulate the lecturer on his illustrations and on an address to which they had listened with very great interest and instruction, and on the pluck and endurance with which he had carried out his plans of sport and travel. He had been watching for twenty years for the linking up of the Trans-Siberian and Trans-Caspian Railways and the

lecturer had showed that that junction by rail and steamboat was gradually being carried out.

COLONEL P. M. SYKES said that he would like to supplement Mr. Bury's modest references to his big-game shooting by congratulating him on obtaining a record ibex with a measurement of 58 inches. He had had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Bury's large and beautiful collection of heads at Mr. Rowland Ward's, in Piccadilly, and he congratulated him heartily on these trophies. He had the pleasure of making Mr. Bury's acquaintance at Bokhara on his way back from his journey, and when he saw that he had made so great a bag, he promptly bagged him for the Central Asian Society.

Mr. Bury had mentioned the considerable distance of the Russian railways from some of places they should serve. There was an explanation for this which he had been given by Russians, but he could not vouch for its accuracy. He was told that when the engineers were surveying for a line they went to the mayor of a town and entered into a deal. If a substantial amount of money was given them, they made the alignment suit the town, otherwise they kept it a considerable distance from the place. This was the possible explanation of the railway station being situated some eight miles from Samarcand. He congratulated Mr. Bury on his lecture, and hoped that in time it would develop into a book.

The CHAIRMAN said they thanked Mr. Bury most warmly for his excellent lecture. Mr. Bury might say with Lord Byron, "description is my forte." He had seldom heard a lecture so clear, or with better descriptions of natural scenery, nor was it possible to imagine more beautiful photographs. He (the Chairman) went over similar ground some years ago in the recesses of Manchuria with Sir Frank Younghusband, and he had been reminded of that journey by the descriptions of the wonderful flowers to be found in the Central Asian mountains. What he had told them of Russian colonization showed the wonderful organization of Russia in transferring the peasantry thousands of miles, planting them in colonies, and making them prosperous. Sir Frank Younghusband and he found in a valley at Novaviesk, not very far from Vladivostok, but before the railway was there, several such colonies. At that time they were not prosperous, and Government had to feed them for several years before they were able to sufficiently develop cultivation to keep themselves. But it was to be gathered from Mr. Bury that the colonists now planted by the Russians, at any rate in the Tian Shan region, were likely to furnish the Government, not only with proofs of material prosperity, but with contingents of good fighting Cossacks.

The achievements of Mr. Bury were rendered possible only by his willingness to undergo hardship, and therefore one could congratulate him the more on having had such very fine sport. Only a thoroughly

determined man disregarding hardships could have reached those mountain-tops and have had such good sport. They were glad he had returned with the record ibex. In the name of the Society he thanked him very much indeed for the lecture.

Mr. BURY, in acknowledging the vote of thanks formally put from the chair, said he hoped that some day he would have the pleasure of again lecturing to the Society.

GENERAL SIR THOMAS EDWARD GORDON,

K.C.B., K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

By the death of Sir Thomas Gordon on March 23 the Central Asian Society has lost one of its oldest and most distinguished members, for he was among those who joined in founding it, and he became its first President. He afterwards contributed more than one valuable paper to its records, and until his death he was one of its Vice-Presidents. If he had not been disabled by ill-health, he would in all probability have been asked to resume the Presidency on the retirement last year of the Earl of Ronaldshay.

My object in this paper is rather to speak of Gordon as I knew him than to give a detailed account of his career. It was long and honourable, for he joined the 4th Foot as Ensign in 1849, saw much fighting on the North-West Frontier, in the Mutiny, and in Afghanistan, and held many commands, staff appointments, and "political" posts. The last of these he did not vacate until 1893, after forty-four years of unusually varied service.

I made Gordon's acquaintance in 1874, when I had just joined the Indian Foreign Office as an attaché, and he had been appointed to command the Mewar Bhil Corps, one of the regiments then administered by the Foreign Department, but I did not get to know him well until five years later, in September, 1879. Gordon was then commanding at Ali Khel, from which point General Roberts was about to march upon Kabul to avenge the slaughter of the British Mission. On the advance of the field force Gordon was to remain in command of the Kurram Brigade, holding a long and exposed line of communications through a difficult country. I was then only a young civilian, attached to General Roberts as Political Secretary, but I well remember the kindness and courtesy with which Gordon treated me, taking me with him round the position at Ali Khel, and showing me the various points where night attacks by the mountain tribesmen were most likely to take place. As we went from point to point we talked over the attitude of the Amir and the political situation generally—matters upon which his thirty years' experience of affairs on and beyond the frontier made his opinions specially interesting. Then, as always, I found him wholly free from any assumption of superiority, or impatience for the views of others. He seemed to me a typical Scottish gentleman, with a pleasant northern speech, and the quiet humour which, whatever Englishmen

may think, characterizes so many of his countrymen. In after-years he was consistently the same, ready to talk over anything and give one the benefit of his wide experience, but never laying down the law, or showing the smallest sign of temper, and, above all, never saying an ill-natured thing about anyone. This unfailing good humour and kindliness were of the essence of his character. Possibly the Spanish blood which he had inherited from his mother helped to give him his pleasant manners and readiness of speech, and to soften the dourness of the Scot; but the same quiet humour was always present with his friend and countryman Donald Stewart, and William Lockhart and many others of the Scottish officers of their day.

Early in his career Gordon had made himself a good Persian scholar, and this, among other things, soon marked him out for political service. He was employed in 1869 with the Amir Sher Ali, when that ill-fated ruler came to meet Lord Mayo at Umballa; and afterwards he was several times selected for duties of a similar kind. In 1873 he was second in command of the mission to Kashgar, after which he published his well-known book, "The Roof of the World." In 1879 he was political officer in Kurram. In 1885 he was in attendance upon the Amir Abdurrahman at Rawal Pindi. From 1889 to 1893 he was Oriental and Military Secretary to the Tehran Legation, under Sir Henry Drummond Wolff and Sir Frank Lascelles. In all these positions, and others, Gordon did excellent service. He was in many respects peculiarly fitted for dealing with Oriental rulers, and Orientals generally. Not only could he speak Persian—the *lingua franca* of Asiatic Mahomedans—but his character and manners were of great advantage to him. No one perhaps appreciates as thoroughly as an Oriental ruler does unfailing courtesy and good temper on the part of an Englishman. I have once or twice heard men who ought to have known better criticize Gordon's innate pleasure in conversation as a love of "gossip." But, in truth, there are few things more useful for a political officer than a capacity for "gossip" of that class. Only by being always ready to talk pleasantly, and listen with patience to others talking—sometimes not very pleasantly—can an Englishman get upon friendly terms with Asiatics. And it enables a man to acquire much valuable information which is to be acquired by no other means. Both in 1885 as Foreign Secretary in India, and later as British Minister in Persia, I had special opportunities of understanding the value of Gordon's work in that respect. At Rawal Pindi I saw the excellent relations he had established with that "strange strong creature," Abdurrahman—to quote the words of Lord Dufferin. Though the Amir was then in a very suspicious frame of mind, and apt to take offence, it was evident that he liked Gordon, and was inclined to trust him more than others. So much was this the case that if it had been decided to send another British Resident to Kabul at that

the post. Nine years later, when I went to Tehran, Gordon was no longer in the Legation, but I found many traces of his good work. Twice after that he paid a visit to Persia and stayed some time in Tehran. It was most interesting and satisfactory to see the welcome which he then received from high and low. One could not fail to recognize the fact that he had made himself greatly liked, and also that he knew the country and the people as few Englishmen knew them. He was a storehouse of information on all sorts of matters, and his judgment on any doubtful point was of exceptional value.

Nor had he ingratiated himself by shirking his duty when it was right to speak the plain truth. His training as a soldier was of much use to him there, and on occasion he could speak as plainly as anyone. It was done pleasantly, in considerate language, and with the touch of humour which never deserted him, but there was no shirking of facts. I can say this with certainty, because he more than once gave me an opinion which he knew to be distinctly opposed to my own views, and he stuck to it, politely but firmly.

Gordon wrote several books which attracted and deserved attention. He could express himself clearly, and what he wrote was always easy reading, with trustworthy information underlying it. He had also some skill with the pencil, and could illustrate his books himself.

I have said nothing about Gordon's love of sport. He did much shooting in his Indian days, especially when in command of the Mewar Bhil Corps, the country about his headquarters at Kherwarra being one of the best in India for tigers and other game. As a younger man he was fond of pig-sticking, and at one time "ran" the Poena Tent Club. To the end he had a good seat on a horse, and when he was staying with me in Tehran, though considerably over sixty, he enjoyed a gallop across country as much as anyone.

In short, Gordon was an accomplished soldier political, of a type which will not, I hope, become extinct in India. Such men are of great value to England, and it would be well if there were more of them. The training of a soldier, with the high sense of honour and loyalty which it fosters, is a fine foundation for an Englishman who has to deal with Asiatics—or, indeed, with any men. I have often thought that our diplomatic service all over the world would gain materially if it were more largely recruited from the same source, and from the Navy.

The "gay Gordons" have always been proverbial for cheery courage. And none of them ever faced death more gallantly than the old soldier, who, feeling its hand upon him, sent word to his friends one by one, and sadly worn, but pleasant and interested as ever, spent a few minutes with each in quiet impersonal talk "before I leave." It was like Tom Gordon, and it was an example which his friends are not likely to forget. He had always lived like a gentleman, and he died like a gentleman.

NOTES AND NEWS

THE CHUYAN ALPS.

IN the course of a journey in Mongolia, made in the spring of 1913, I had occasion to visit Kiachta, Urga, Uliassutai, and Kobdo, crossing the north-west frontier of Mongolia into Siberia at Kosh Agatch. It is here that the Chuyan Alps may be said to commence.

Kosh-Agatch are two Kirghiz words, which mean "Good-bye Trees." The name is well chosen, since the thickly forested Altai Mountains, stretching west, give place abruptly to the treeless Chuya Desert.

The town of Kosh-Agatch is but a collection of log-houses, comprising the Customs station, post and telegraph office, a depot for Government horses, a few merchants' stores and houses, the posting-station, church, and the residences of the priest, doctor, police-officer, and veterinary surgeon. It is situated on the River Chuya, at the north-west end of the Chuyan plain, or desert, as it is called, owing to the desolate nature of the surrounding country. In this plain the Chuya River has its origin, completely encircled by snow hills and mountains, which form the connecting link between the Northern Altai system of Siberia and the Southern Altai Mountains of Mongolia.

These hills are the beginning of the Chuyan Alps, which extend beyond Kosh Agatch nearly as far as Engudai ("The Seat of Ten Gods"). The scenery is very grand, and it is said by competent judges who have travelled both in Switzerland and the Altai district to be as fine as any in the Swiss Alpine region. Coming from the bitter, barren, wind-swept plateaux of Mongolia, I was very appreciative of such a complete change of scenery.

The River Chuya flows at the foot of these beautiful mountains, until, joining forces with the Katoon, they force their way through the mountains to Katoonsk. Just below this town the Biya River, which gives its name to the city of Biisk, joins them, and together, under the name of Ob, the united rivers flow northward to Siberia.

The Chuyan Mountains, frequently styled the Chuyan Alps—mere snow-hills in the neighbourhood of Kosh Agatch—gradually increase in size and grandeur, until they culminate into range after range of beautiful snow-capped peaks. The lower extremities are in places screened by dense forest foliage, and in other places stand forth, grey and dark, in bold bluffs of rugged precipitous rock.

The road itself follows the telegraph posts, that have their termination at Kosh-Agatch, and passes such varied obstacles as icebound rivers, snow-drifts, and morasses. Ascending and descending the road winds round mountains in places almost vertical, and the rivers, often in full flood, have to be crossed by bridges, sometimes in bad repair, and ferries worked by men, horses, or steam.

Particularly dangerous places are denoted by stakes fastened to the ground, which form a railing to guide the horses and also prevent the carriages from

falling over the precipices. At one such place, in addition to a precipice, there was a deep snow-drift, and the tops of the stakes could only just be seen over the snow. The driver had been walking, to encourage the horses, when the road abruptly narrowed. He, quite undisturbed, leapt on to the stakes and drove over the drift, jumping from post to post. The least slip on his part might have been disastrous to him and us, as the snow was quite twelve feet deep on the other side of the stakes. The narrowest escape that we ourselves had was in the vicinity of Engudai. We were winding along a road by the side of the River Ursul, a tributary of the Chuya, where, before we or the driver realized it, the road suddenly became narrow, and the river bank on our right developed into a steep precipice. In front of us, on the left, was a rock abutting on the path, and on the right the path had crumbled badly. There were no protecting posts. We called on the driver to stop, in order to get out of the carriage, but he had whipped up his horses, and took us at a gallop over the break in the road. The right wheels literally went over space. I was sitting on the right side of the carriage, carefully watching the wheels, and we barely missed dashing into the rock on the left. It was not a pleasant experience, and if we had gone over the precipice we should have been dashed to atoms.

H. G. C. PERRY-AYSCOUGH.

March 14, 1914.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF INDIA.

For some years past the turbulent voice of the Frontier has been comparatively hushed and still—comparatively, but not absolutely. The calm has been superficial, the result of a brave determination on the part of the Indian Government to ignore such minor issues as raids and robberies in order to maintain a dignified assumption of a condition of "peace, when there is no peace." There never can be peace so long as robbing and raiding is attractive and easy to the uncultured, but physically splendid, races of Pathan tribesmen of the North, and the way of escape is certain. The call of heredity is too strong, the excitement of the pastime too alluring to the young untamed mountaineers of the long valleys of the Hindu Koh, to be abandoned for any other reason than that of swift and certain punishment. There will never be any other condition of frontier existence so long as the wild wilderness of mountains is open to the retreating tribesmen. Where the way of retreat has been closed, or flanked, by British posts, as in the frontier hills south of the Gomal River, these periodic and local disturbances of the peace of the borderland have practically ceased. But no such command of the back doors of turbulent districts is possible in the North, and the militant clans of the Boner Valley have lately been making things very hot indeed for the Hindu traders of the Peshawar Frontier. In these activities the Mohmands have apparently assisted, no doubt with considerable profit to themselves. Kidnappings, robberies, and assassinations have been pretty frequent lately in this lively corner of the North-West Frontier, and at last it has been found necessary to resort to energetic measures for their suppression by means of a counter raid into Boner territory. This appears to have been promptly and successfully carried through, and it should have an excellent (if temporary) effect on the whole Northern Frontier. The destruction of a few villages and the capture of a number of prisoners, who will probably be held as hostages for a considerable fine in hard

rupees, without the occurrence of any loss to the counter raiders, is a useful lesson not only to the Bunerwals, but to the administrative authorities who have at their command a thoroughly efficient punitive force and don't use it. It is not on the parade-ground, nor even by the practice of periodical military manœuvres (valuable as such practice undoubtedly is), that rapidity, secrecy, and endurance can be ensured such as is essential to the success of a raid into the difficult territory of trans-frontier tribespeople. It lies in the quality of the troops employed, and what that quality is every old frontier soldier knows. We may not have a John Nicholson on the frontier now (although, without opportunity, it is impossible to say whether we have or not), but we may be certain (as the *Homeward Mail* puts it) that the officials of to-day, "if assured of adequate support in the highest quarters," will always be found equal to the restoration and the maintenance of order.

T. H. HOLDICH.

PERSIA.

Reuter's agent telegraphed from Delhi on March 24: "Speaking in the Legislative Council to-day, Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy, said the only alternative to the appointment of the Swedish officers and the establishment of a gendarmerie in Persia, would have been the despatch of a British expedition. To this action, however, the Government of India would always be firmly opposed." We are not always sure that the opinions or decisions to which Lord Hardinge gives expression accurately reflect the consensus of opinion of his colleagues of the Viceregal Council. The Government of India may be firmly opposed to the despatch of a British Expedition to Persia, but in the opinion of many who are fully as, if not more, conversant with Persian affairs than Lord Hardinge, every sign of the times is pointing to the early need for British intervention in Southern and South-Eastern Persia. It is understood that, in or about 1906, preparatory to the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, Viscount Kitchener advised the limitation of the British sphere to the line Bandar-Abbas-Kirman on military grounds; but, since then, British troops have occupied Bushire, Shiraz, and Ispahan, and British enterprise is busy in all the country from the Shat-el-arab to Ispahan and Khoramabad. It is not to be supposed that Lord Kitchener's successor as Commander-in-Chief, however gallantly he won his V.C. in 1879, and however eloquent his memoranda, as Chief, on the way that the British subaltern should treat his Aryan or Dravidian brother, had either the knowledge or the statesman-like grasp of policy which would make his opinion of any value on questions affecting Persia. To him Lord Hardinge could certainly not look for counsel on that point. We have always understood that the India Office desired a period of grace after a strenuous administration, and, to that end, "no more" judicious selection could have been made than the Chief whom Lord Morley selected and to whom Lord Hardinge bade adieu in India with so much unction a month or so ago. If energetic action is now needed in Persia, we have, at the head of our army in India, a man who has been throughout his career in touch with the centres of Indian administration, and who was, in his day, Lord Kitchener's right-hand man. Despite Lord Hardinge's vigorous assurance of the Government of India's firm opposition to the despatch of a British expedition to Persia, there are only too many grounds for anticipating that the despatch of such a force will, ere long, become obli-

tory. The very journals which publish the pith of Lord Hardinge's address to his Legislative Council advise us of the recommencement of fighting between the Swedish gendarmerie and the Persian brigands and malcontents, and, further, we are threatened in Northern Persia with an increase of the Cossack Brigade at the expense of the Swedish gendarmerie. England cannot shut her eyes to that example and hint. Have we not been receiving, for the past four or five years, reports of the absolute insecurity for trade and travel of the routes from Shiraz and Kirman to the Persian Gulf? Will a handful of gendarmes safeguard a tract as big as England? What is the Government of India, what is the Chief Commissioner of Baluchistan doing, on the Indian side of the Perso-Baluch border, to second Persian efforts to restore order and safety of life and property? Nothing, as far as we know. For years past the Government of India has not been doing half—nay, not a tenth part—what it might have done to make its power on the east of the Perso-Baluch border seriously influence the anarchy prevalent on the west of it. Nay, more! when, ten or twelve years ago, an Anglo-Persian Commission delimited a hitherto-neglected portion of that border, it was the opinion of experts that the interests of the Province of Baluchistan had been gravely neglected, in that Persian territory was allowed to cut into a most important trade-route from Pasni, a port on the Arabian Sea littoral, to Sistan. As for making any due use of the Baluchis and Brahuis for military purposes—and better material for "Irregulars" could hardly be found—suggestions on that point have been simply ignored and shelved.

We have to go far back to trace the progress of Persian decadence. Pressure from Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan, coupled with internal corruption and maladministration and national moral decay, must sum up in a few words a story which to-day seems to be nearing its catastrophe. Sir John Malcolm a century ago found Persia but a wreck of its old self, and embodied his thoughts and feelings anent it in blank verse, privately printed and circulated among his friends, mostly, I think, fellow-Scotsmen. Now and again a copy of these verses finds its way into the catalogue of a second-hand bookseller. A great crisis has now come upon this country, but no Persian rises equal to this crisis. Could one great strong man be found at this juncture, verily! as the Lord Almighty promised to spare Sodom and Gomorrah, so, we may believe, He would spare Persia. In regard to vice there is no choice between the two. But He would seem even to have roused their co-religionists against them, if indeed Shia and Sunni can be termed co-religionists. When the stability of the centre of the Muhammedan world can scarce be guaranteed, is it wise of Turkey not to give its fullest support to its Mussulman neighbour? We are led to reflect on the possible issue of German influence at Constantinople on the future of Persia. There cannot be a shadow of a doubt that, as far as lies in the power of Germany, backed up, doubtless, by its allies of the Triple Alliance, Russia will never be allowed to control the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. We leave time to decide whether Greece, or Bulgaria, or Roumania will relieve Turkey of the responsibility for policing those straits. Whatever happens, as far as lies in the power of Germany, the Chief Constable of the Straits will be that Power's friend. German trade is becoming more and more important in the Black Sea, and it is perfectly conceivable that every effort of Germany will be directed to connecting Trebizond on the Anatolian Coast of the Black Sea with the Baghdad Railway. That Russia will, if possible, thwart. It is her clear

purpose to mould railway construction in Armenia and Azerbaijan entirely on her own lines, and so as to further her own purely selfish aims and interests. Turkey and France, at present, are conforming to that purpose; but, at least, on the part of Turkey, we can hardly believe with goodwill. It is here we have the second—Persian incompetence being the first—enemy of Persian unity. We can trace now, ever since the deposition of the late Shah, the clear indications of the Russian design to sever Azerbaijan from Persia and annex it to the Czar's dominions. Nothing can save Azerbaijan, unless some force—such, for instance, as a Turco-German combination—should be strong enough to say to Russia, "Hands off Azerbaijan and Armenia." If that were to happen, then we believe that the "firm opposition" of Lord Hardinge's Government to the despatch of a British expedition to South-Eastern Persia may remain unshaken in its firmness. Failing that, my firm opinion is that a British occupation of Fars is not far distant.

The Trans-Persian Railway is probably dead for the present. Not that I entirely rejoice in its death, for, as I said three years ago when I lectured on it, it is a "fascinating project." But after what I saw—being in a small degree behind the scenes—of Russian ambitions and of the readiness of British and French finance to pander to those ambitions, I came to the conclusion that the Trans-Persian Railway no longer was a "fascinating project." I do not desert without a qualm my once-cherished vision of a Calais-Calcutta-Canton Trans-Continental Railway, but I readily sacrifice it, if it can punish Russia for her breach of the Treaty of Berlin, and her, as I surmise, obvious intention of disregarding the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, which guarantees the integrity and independence of Persia. At the outset of the negotiations between Great Britain and Russia, the Indian Government exhibited a perfectly extraordinary disposition to accommodate itself to Russian schemes. Indeed, that Government seemed to think much more of safeguarding Afghanistan than of safeguarding India. Fortunately, however, the British Foreign Office, as may be judged by speeches made in Parliament by Sir Edward Grey and the Marquis of Crewe, were far from disposed to endorse the accommodating attitude of a Viceroy who would seem, while Ambassador at St. Petersburg, to have fallen, equally with his predecessor there and successor at the Foreign Office, under the spell of that Russian optimism which assumes with a charming air of confidence that the Central Asian question is dead and buried. Russian action in Mongolia, the financial and administrative straits of Persia, the recently revealed breakdown of Amir Habibullah's rule over Afghanistan, the contemplated junction of the Trans-Siberian and Trans-Caspian Railways, the branch-line under construction from Samarcand to Termes on the Oxus—weigh all these facts and then say if that question is dead, far less buried!

A. C. YATK.

THE FUTURE OF RHODES.

To Part I. of the Journal for 1914 of the CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY I contributed a short note, giving a brief summary of the close ties which, from a historical point of view, entitled Rhodes to the strongest sentiments of sympathy and interest on the part of the Christian nations of Europe. I pointed out the magnificent part which the old Order of the Knights Hospitallers had played in the retention of this island in the face of Islam from A.D. 1310 to 1523. I then

drew attention to the fact that there existed to-day in Europe three branches of this great Order—the Roman, with its "Cheffieu" at Rome; the "Johanniter" at Berlin; and the Grand Priory of England at Clerkenwell. I pointed out that there was no unity between these branches, no sign of initiative on the part of any one of them, and that, while their great social influence might enable them to appeal to the courts, aristocracies, and Governments of almost all the Christian nations in Europe, not a thing was being done, not a move made. A sentimental interest was affected in an old Hospitaller castle in Cyprus—whose Lusignan Kings bullied the Knights—but for Rhodes not a hand was moved.

Although I got little encouragement and scarcely even succeeded in rousing a feeble interest, I however, with the kind assistance of one or two friends whose sympathies were not lukewarm, pursued my aim until I was able to ascertain, on the authority of the Foreign Office, that it has been decided by the Six Great Powers—"Les Six Grandes Impuissances," as some diplomatic wag has christened them—that Rhodes was to go back to Turkey. Italy holds it at present, and Italy will not part with it till she gets all she wants in return. So there is still hope. When the Six "*Grandes Impuissances*" cannot agree, an international agent, like the Hospitallers, may step in.

I forgot to add above that the great affection for and interest in the Order displayed by Paul the First of Russia one hundred and fifteen years ago, is by no means dead. There exist in Russia to-day "*Hereditary*" Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. These men are undoubtedly adherents of the Eastern or Greek Church. No such thing as a "*Hereditary*" Knight of the Order of St. John is known elsewhere. Russia, without the authority of the Order, invented it. We presume that these "*Hereditary*" Knights hold the hand of St. John the Baptist, the most treasured relic of the Order, presented to the Grand Master about 1485 by the then Sultan of Turkey and shamelessly despoiled by Napoleon in 1798. The Knights took the relic, shorn of its jewelled casket, to Russia, and there it still is, if report be true. And yet not all the sympathy and sentiment which unites Catholic, Protestant, and Greek Churches to the hallowed memory of Rhodes in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, can move Christendom to emancipate Rhodes!

A. C. YATE.

THE KING OF SIKHIM.

THE death of the King of Sikhim, Sir Thot'ub Nam-gyal, K.C.I.E., on February 10, at the age of fifty-four, removes an interesting personality, whose name at various times has figured prominently in Indian Frontier politics, and who was to some extent, by his intrigues with Tibet, responsible for the Young-husband Expedition of 1904 to Lhasa. His name also recalls our acquisition of the important Himalayan district of Darjiling or British Sikhim.

Of royal Tibetan extraction, he was hereditary ruler of the small mountainous principality of Sikhim, wedged in between Nepal and Bhotan, in the Eastern Himalayas, and he owed his throne remotely to the active assistance of the British Government of India. For when, on the break-up of the Moghul Empire towards the end of the eighteenth century A.D., the small tribe of Gurkha soldiers seized Nepal and, establishing itself there, overran the whole stretch of the Himalayas from the Sutlej to Bhotan, they annexed the greater part of Sikhim up to the Tista River, leaving the nominal sovereign of that

country with merely a narrow strip of mountains around Gangtok, on the slopes leading to the Chumbi Valley, and forced him also to pay tribute. Emboldened by their easy successes, the Gurkhas raided down upon the British territory in the plains, and, failing to give satisfaction, in the hostilities which ensued they were signally defeated by General Ochterlony in 1816, and ejected from Western Sikkim, which was then restored to the Sikkim Prince by the British Government, though apparently without imposing any formal suzerainty.

Some years later, in 1880, when a hill sanatorium was required for Calcutta, a tract on the outer Sikkim hills, as far as the hamlet of Darjiling, was leased from the then Raja, and this was opened by Dr. A. Campbell, of the Indian Medical Service, as "Superintendent," in regard to whose achievement Sir Joseph Hooker wrote: "He [Dr. Campbell] raised British Sikkim from its pristine condition of an impenetrable jungle, tenanted by half-savages and mutually hostile races, to that of a flourishing European hill-station and a rich agricultural province." He also introduced the tea industry, which has since assumed vast dimensions. When in 1849 Dr. Campbell visited Upper Sikkim to see the Raja with reference to the systematic kidnapping by Sikkhimese of British subjects as slaves, he was captured and imprisoned with indignity, along with Dr. Hooker who accompanied him, as is recorded in the classic *Himalayan Journal* of the latter. As a punishment for this outrage, all Outer Sikkim, including the station of Darjiling, was permanently annexed to India as a British district, and the annual subsidy was withdrawn. The Lhasa Lamas, the spiritual advisers of the Raja and his Tibetan wife, excited him to hostilities, which were suppressed in 1861, and a new treaty dictated and the subsidy restored.

The late "Gyal-po," as the king is called by his Bhotiya or Tibetan subjects, succeeded his brother in 1874, at the age of fourteen marrying the widow of the latter; and after her death he married in 1885 another Tibetan lady, the daughter of an official of the Dalai Lama's Court. Personally of an amiable and devout character, he spent his time mostly as a monk, and left the management of his state affairs to his ministers, who were of strongly pro-Tibetan proclivities. They induced the king to desert his country, and reside more or less permanently in the Chumbi Valley of Tibet, and the remonstrances of the Government of India had little effect in inducing him to return.

The Tibetan invasion of Sikkim in 1886 brought matters to a climax. An army of several thousand Tibetans advanced into Sikkim, and built a fort at Lingtu, actually within sight of Darjiling town, and naturally causing a panic amongst the European residents there. The writer of this note remembers having seen them from Darjiling through field-glasses, swarming over the heights like bees. The invaders refused to withdraw, and were eventually expelled in 1888 by a costly little expedition under General Graham, and the king compelled to reside within his own territory under the surveillance of a British Resident, who was instructed with the task of developing the neglected resources of the country. For this post Mr. J. C. White, of the Public Works Department, was appointed, and he carried out the Government policy effectively, opening up the country by magnificent arterial roads and bridges, and attracting thousands of Hinduised settlers from Nepal to reclaim the forest tracts, as the Sikkhimese themselves, both Lepchas and Bhotiyas, were not systematic or enterprising cultivators. As a result, the revenue of the country has enormously increased, and most tracts of hill-land, which formerly

were impenetrable and uninhabited forest, are now covered by the homesteads of a thriving, industrious peasantry, and form already an important recruiting-ground for our Gurkha regiments. The eventual loyalty of the chief to the Indian Government was rewarded by the title of K.C.I.E., and a personal salute of fifteen guns.

He is succeeded by his son Sid-kyong Tu'ku, who has enjoyed the advantage of an English education, having, in addition to several years' schooling at Darjiling, spent two years at Oxford and travelled round the world.

L. A. WADDELL.

THE JAPANESE BUDGET, 1914-1915.

THE Budget for the year 1914-1915, which was presented by the Japanese Government to the Imperial Diet in the beginning of this year, fell through owing to a disagreement between the two Houses. This is the first time in the Parliamentary history of Japan that a Finance Bill voted by the House of Representatives has become inoperative owing to the attitude of the Upper House. As to the finances of the Government in such a case, the Constitution, however, provides for the Exchequer to have recourse to the previous Budget.

It would be recalled that when the Yamamoto Cabinet came into office the principal planks of its platform were Administrative Reform, Retrenchment and Economy, and the avowed object of providing for a replenishment in the defence forces, for the development of national resources and for a reduction of taxation and at the same time to strictly maintain the sinking fund. The Cabinet, however, having only taken office in the middle of the session of 1913, was unable to embody all of these measures in the Budget for 1913-1914. But within a very few weeks the necessary steps were taken for a complete reform, more thorough-going and far-reaching than any ever undertaken within the last twenty years. This resulted in curtailing the expenditure by £6,600,000 out of a total of £58,680,000. The greater portion of this reduction (£3,900,000, which would rise in the next years to £4,300,000) was in the ordinary or recurring expenditure, and therefore represents a sum which can be counted as a permanent reduction. With this basis of permanent retrenchment the first instalment of the programme for reduction of taxation was effected in 1913, to be followed by others in the coming years.

The Budget for the year 1914-1915 provided for the total expenditure of £64,100,000, the total revenue balancing at the same figures. In framing this Budget, the Cabinet embodied in it the principles on which this administrative reform was based, thus applying the same standard of retrenchment in the normal expenditure as in the last year, cutting down the capital expenditure for various works by 30 per cent., and allowing no fresh outlays except of an urgent character. The estimates on this basis would permit the Government to reckon upon a net saving of £4,300,000 for this year, which could provide for a further reduction of taxation or a fresh increase of expenditure of recurring nature.

On the revenue side, the Finance Minister had a net balance amounting to £7,500,000 available for the year. This balance consists partly of the surplus arising from the normal increase of revenue in the actual operation of the Budget for the year 1912-1913, out of which £3,600,000 was available for the present Budget, and partly of the savings amounting to £3,900,000 secured through the

administrative reform effected during the year 1913-1914. The normal increase in the tax revenue and other incomes for 1914-1915 over the figures of the last Budget was estimated at £1,500,000. These two sources added to the administrative economies of £4,300,000 above mentioned would make a total margin on the year's revenue of £13,000,000. The Finance Minister proposed to be on the safe side, and counted upon a surplus only of £11,600,000, and proposed to dispose of this in the following manner :

To provide for	£
Reduction in taxation	1,000,000
Reduction in monopoly revenue	900,000
To additional expenditure	
Navy	1,000,000
Telephone and other public works	1,400,000
	<u>4,300,000</u>

To reinstate the reserve funds which have been drawn upon during the last war :

	£
Navy fund	4,670,000
Education fund	1,050,000
Currency fund	230,000
Forestry fund	500,000
To increase the contingency and river improvement funds	800,000
	<u>7,250,000</u>

The sinking fund was maintained at the time-honoured amount of £5,000,000, out of which £1,000,000 was to be devoted to the foreign markets.

Bills for a further reduction in taxation were brought in at this session of Parliament. When these Bills come into force in 1915, the amount by which the taxpayers should be relieved will be about £1,500,000.

The new navy programme which was submitted for approval was to involve the expenditure of about £16,000,000, to be spread over six years, out of which was to be taken the appropriation for this year, £1,000,000, above referred to.

It was on this last measure that the Parliamentary deadlock arose. Since the Budget was introduced the Lower House passed two amendments on the Budget. It reduced the expenditure of the navy programme by £3,000,000, but as this reduction was in that portion of the expenditure which was allotted to the years 1916-1920, it did not affect the actual operation of the Budget for 1914-1915. Another proposal of the Lower House was to divert £4,670,000, provided for to reinstate the navy reserve fund above mentioned, to a new fund to be created for the development of national resources.

The House of Peers, however, decided in favour of a further reduction in the navy programme of £4,000,000, making a total curtailment of £7,000,000 on the Government proposal, which would operate from the year 1914-1915. As both Houses would not agree, the whole Budget came to an end. The administration tendered its resignation, and the next Cabinet would finance the Government by the Budget of the year 1913-1914.

The fall of the Budget does not affect the proposed reduction of taxation, which was embodied in separate Bills and which passed both Houses. Nor does this situation alter the amount of sinking fund above mentioned, which was also provided for in that Budget to which the Government has now to go back.

In operating the Budget of 1913-1914 for the year 1914-1915, the Government,

however, has to follow exactly the basis of curtailment effected in the actual operation of that Budget in the year for which it provided. Thus, on the one hand at least, the net saving of £4,300,000 above mentioned will automatically be realized for the year 1914-1915. On the other hand, all the fresh appropriation or new expenditure which was provided for in the Budget for 1914-1915 becomes inoperative. Another sum of £7,500,000, out of which various reserve funds were to be reinstated or increased in the year, will remain intact in the Exchequer. Therefore, the Government will be left again with an enormous balance at the end of the financial year 1914-1915, much greater than what was the case in the financial year just closed.

K. MORI,

Financial Attaché of the Japanese Embassy.

EXPLORATIONS IN CHINESE TURKESTAN.

A letter received from Dr. von Le Coq, dated April 23, from Berlin, gives the following interesting account of the success of his recent expedition to Central Asia :

"The results of this journey are, I am happy to say, very satisfactory both in quality and in quantity; indeed, we have got away with the largest number of cases ever yet exported from that land—152 cases and packages.

"I worked mainly at Kuchā and at Tumshuq, near Maralbashi. In the latter place I was so fortunate as to find quite a number of *true* Gandhāra 'sculptures,' some being exact counterparts of some of the sculptures, in slate, in our Gandhāra collections; only these Tumshuq finds were not carved from Himalaya slate, but moulded, in clay *and* in plaster, in moulds some of which were found alongside. Many of these 'sculptures' still were covered with paint and leaf-gold, and I hope they will not lose this embellishment on the dreary roads they have to come by. Seventy cases are already here, but eighty-two are still on the road.

"I have also been so fortunate as to find MSS. at Tumshuq, the first, I think, ever discovered there. Some are in Sanskrit, others (and these are in a perfect state of preservation) are in an Iranian language of interesting type.

"A very fine but small cornice, decorated in pure Sassanian style, and a number of heads of Sassanian knights, come also from Tumshuq, some good bronzes, painted or enamelled glass (one fragment only), statuettes in wood, etc.—altogether it is an un hoped-for addition to our collection of Central Asian things."

Dr. von Le Coq writes enthusiastically of the kindness and unstinted help he received in many ways from Sir George and Lady Macartney.

While away in the desert the explorer was attacked by severe illness, which nearly cost him his life, and Sir George Macartney, hearing of it through the telegraph, sent his own physician a journey of about thirty days to his assistance.

Chinese Railways.—The Chinese Government and the British and Chinese Corporation have signed a railway loan agreement, one of the most important for British enterprise that has ever been concluded in China. By this agreement the Shanghai-Nanking Railway is extended through Nanchang to Pinghsiang, and includes the already constructed Pinghsiang-Chuchow line linking up the Canton-Hankow branch lines with those to Wusu and Kuangtechow. The

new line will be easy of construction, and will run through a well-populated, fertile country. The loan required will be £8,000,000, and for forty years will be at £5 per cent. on the security of the railway, guaranteed by the Chinese Government. The fact that the engineer-in-chief, chief accountant, and the traffic manager are British, are additional safeguards that the railway will be developed on sound business lines.

Exploration in Siam.—Dr. W. E. Geil, the well-known American explorer, who has lately returned from the Near East, is about to start on an expedition to Northern Siam and to the country of the Shans—a people who have retained many of their primitive customs.

Gun-Running in the Persian Gulf.—An agreement between France and Great Britain has finally put an end to the extensive gun-running at Muscat, which has armed the Afghans and Indian border-tribesmen as well as the nomad brigands of Southern Persia. It has been estimated that the trade in arms at Muscat exceeded a quarter of a million sterling each year. In one year alone the import of rifles was 85,000, and of cartridges 12,000,000.

The Agreement by which France forgoes her treaty rights to trade in arms at Muscat has but crowned the successful measures taken by the Indian Government to stop this dangerous traffic.

The East Indies Squadron had practically ruined the trade by, year after year, intercepting the boats and seizing the cargoes, thus making the risks too great.

Jerusalem.—Jerusalem is to be modernized. Tramways, electric light, and waterworks will complete the transformation of the city, which during the last half-century has been slowly enlarging its borders and drawing closer to modern civilization. The opening of the railway to Jaffa was the prime factor, opening, as it did, the way to a considerable tourist traffic, and making easier the large immigration of Jews, who now number some 50,000 in the city alone, whereas some fifty years ago they were a negligible quantity.

Bethlehem, some six miles to the south, is to be linked up to Jerusalem by an electric tramway line from the Jaffa Gate, and three other lines are to run through the city to the suburbs. This tramway system and the electric lighting is in the hands of the French Périer Bank, to whom a concession has been granted by the municipality. The same Company have also in view a proper water-supply—more needed, perhaps, than the other two. Hitherto the ordinary inhabitants have been content with the rain-water supply from their own storage cisterns, and the wealthier people have received theirs daily in sealed barrels by railway from the spring at Bittir.

French Interests in Syria.—In addition to the religious schools already established, the French Government are promoting the establishment of two professional schools at Damascus and Mosul.

There is to be also a new French Vice-Consulate at Homs, and the port of Junch, north of Beirut, is opened to France.

Baghdad to Beirut by Motor Omnibus.—Motor omnibuses sent out by an English firm are in future to carry the Turkish mails from Baghdad to the coast via Damascus. The distance of over 500 miles across the Syrian desert will be traversed in six days instead of the twenty days now taken by horse carriage.

Albania.—Equality of religion and speech has been guaranteed throughout Albania by the International Commission at Avlona.

Turco-Servian Treaty.—The Treaty of Peace between Turkey and Servia was signed on March 14. There had been considerable friction, and negotia-

tions had been interrupted. There were four chief points of difference which were settled as follows :

First, with regard to Moslem cemeteries in the annexed territories : although Servian law does not admit of their being treated as Moslem religious foundations, Servia undertakes to respect them.

Secondly, while the Servian Government has been unable to accede to the Porte's request that the service of the shrine of the Sultan Murad the Victorious, who fell in the moment of victory at Kossovo-Polye, should be entrusted to Imams appointed and paid by Turkey, full concessions to Turkish historical sentiment have been made.

Thirdly, Servia has agreed to make no distinction as far as the franchise is concerned between her new Moslem and Christian subjects in the annexed territories.

Fourthly, on the question of nationality, Servia has agreed to allow former Ottoman subjects resident in the new territory three years in which to opt for Turkish nationality. Moslems, moreover, are not to be liable to conscription for three years. Original inhabitants of the annexed territories now resident elsewhere are to have three years in which to opt for Servian nationality, on condition that they quit the Ottoman Empire in order to exercise their right. The Porte, in a letter appended to the Treaty, undertakes to grant Christians in the annexed territories now resident in Turkey every facility compatible with the existing régime to opt for Servian nationality.

Diplomatic relations between the two States have been renewed. M. Georgevitch has been appointed Servian Chargé d'Affaires, and Hrant Nuradunghian Turkish Chargé d'Affaires.

The Baghdad Railway.—The working section of the Baghdad Railway, east of Konia, now extends to 400 miles, including the Toprak-Kaleh-Alexandretta branch line, whilst good progress is being made in the railway northwards from Baghdad, where it is expected that by the end of 1914 some 100 miles will have been completed, and east from Jerablus about 125 miles.

The control of the line is now practically in the hands of Germany.

England has withdrawn all opposition to the line being extended from Baghdad to Basra, on the understanding that it does not proceed beyond Basra to the Persian Gulf without her consent. On the other hand, she agrees to keep the Shatt-el-Arab navigable as far as Basra.

France, in return for railway concessions in Syria and elsewhere, is offering to cede her rights in the railway to Germany, and the opposition of Russia was withdrawn some three years ago.

Education in Egypt.—A society called the Women's Educational Union has just been formed in Cairo under the patronage of the Khedivah Mother, the wives of the Ministers, and of the chief European and native residents. Two meetings have already been held at the University. The society should meet with great success, as it has been called into being owing to a widely felt want. For some years past it has been recognized in Egypt, as well as among other Moslem nations, that the future of these nations will depend largely on the education and emancipation of their women, and this feeling resulted in Egypt in a demand for elementary and advanced schools for girls. The vernacular press did good service in pressing the question, and the Government responded by establishing a number of schools, but the supply does not as yet come up to the demand, and in addition no provision was made for the very large class of

youthful wives whose education was by no means finished when their school days ended. The new society, which has received numbers of adhesions, lays down in its statutes the following objects:

1. To unite in a common bond women of all nationalities interested in education, and thus promote the cause of female education in Egypt.
2. To assist mothers and teachers to understand the best principles of education, and afford them opportunities for consultation and co-operation, so that the wisdom and experience of each may be profitable to all.
3. To provide for this purpose lectures dealing with education in its physical, mental, and moral aspects.
4. To afford to girls and young women who have been well educated an opportunity of maintaining their interest in intellectual and literary matters, and to publish for that purpose a magazine dealing with educational subjects in a language understood by the majority.

RECENT BOOKS ON THE EAST

Far East.

THE CAMPAIGN OF LIAO-YANG. By Major H. Rowan-Robinson. (Campaigns and their Lessons.) pp. 284. 6s. 6d. net. (Constable.)

LYRICS FROM THE CHINESE. By Helen Waddell. 2s. 6d. net. (Constable.)

THE CHINESE PEOPLE. By the Ven. Archdeacon A. E. Moule. 5s. (S.P.C.K.)

ON CHINESE CURRENCY. Preliminary Remarks on the Monetary and Banking Reform in China. By G. Vissering. 8vo. (J. H. de Bussey, Amsterdam.)

A WOMAN IN THE ANTIPODES. By Mary Hall. (Methuen.)

MANCHURIA AND CHÖSEN (KOREA). An official guide to Eastern Asia. Vol. I. (Published by the Imperial Government Railways in Tokyo.)

JAPANESE FLOWER ARRANGEMENT (IKE BANA). By Mary Averill. With Illustrations. 6s. net. (John Lane.)

MISSIONARY JOYS IN JAPAN. By Rev. Paget Wilkes. 7s. 6d. (Morgan and Scott.)

THE DRAGON IN CHINA AND JAPAN. By W. de Visser. Royal 8vo. (Müller, Amsterdam.)

THE RELIGION OF THE SAMURAI. By Kaiten Nukariya. 8vo. (Luzac and Co.)

SIAM AND CHINA. By the late Salvatore Besso. Translated from the Italian by C. Mathews. pp. 287. 30s. net. (Simpkin, Marshall.)

DURCH KÖNIG TSCHULALONGKORNS REICH SIAM-EXPEDITION. Von Dr. Carl Curt Hosséns. pp. 220, 4to., with 125 Plates and Illustrations and a Map. 15s.; bound, 18s.

MALAY GRAMMAR. By R. O. Winstedt. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

Central Asia.

NOTES ON THE PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF CHINESE TURKESTAN AND THE PAMIRS. By T. A. Joyce. pp. 34. 5 Plates. (Royal Anthropological Institute.)

LES DOCUMENTS CHINOIS. Découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan Oriental. Publiés et traduits par Edouard Chavannes. Royal 4to., with 37 Colotype Plates. £3 3s. net. (Oxford University Press.)

Indian Frontier.

PENNELL OF THE AFGHAN FRONTIER. By A. M. Pennell. 10s. 6d. net. (Seeley, Service and Co.)

Near East.

THE CRADLE OF MANKIND: LIFE IN EASTERN KURDISTAN. By W. A. Wigram and E. T. A. Wigram. (Black and Co.)

- LA GUERRE DES BALKANS ET L'EUROPE, 1912-13. 3.50 francs. (Paris : Plon Nourrit.)
- THE PHILISTINES : THEIR HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION. By R. A. Stewart Macalister, 3s. net. Schweich Lecture, 1911. (Oxford University Press, 1913).
- PALACE AND MOSQUE AT UKHAIDIR. By Gertrude Bell. 4to. (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1914.)
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- DAYS IN ATTICA. By Mrs. R. C. Bosanquet. pp. 348. 7s. 6d. net. (Methuen.)
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 LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.
 RULES AND LIST OF MEMBERS.

RULES

OF

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

1. THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY was founded for the encouragement of interest in Central Asia by means of lectures, the reading of papers, and discussions.

2. Persons who desire to join the Society shall be proposed by one Member and seconded by another, and shall then be balloted for by the Council. Ladies are admissible.

3. The Secretary shall in all cases inform Members of their election.

4. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be £1.

5. The Council shall have power to remit subscriptions in special cases in which such remission shall appear expedient.

6. All subscriptions are due on election, and thereafter annually, but if the election takes place in November or December, the second annual payment will not become due till the expiration of the succeeding year; thus if a person be elected in November, his second subscription will not be due till the second January following.

7. Every person elected a Member of the Society shall make the payment due thereon within two calendar months after the date of election, or if abroad within six months after election; otherwise the election shall be void unless the Council in any particular case shall extend the period within which such payments are to be made.

8. Annual subscriptions shall be due on the tenth day of January in each year; and in case the same shall not be paid by the end of the month, the Treasurer or Secretary shall be authorized to demand the same. If any subscriptions remain unpaid at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, the Treasurer shall apply by letter to those Members who are in arrear. If the arrears be not discharged by the 1st of January following such application, the Member's name as a defaulter shall be suspended in the meeting room, and due notice be given to the Member in question of the same. The name shall remain suspended, unless in the interval the arrears be discharged, until the Anniversary Meeting next ensuing, when, if the subscription be not paid, the defaulter will cease to be a Member of the Society.

9. A Member, who is not in arrears, may at any time resign his membership by notice in writing, but such notice of resignation must reach the Secretary before the 1st of January, otherwise the subscription for the current year will be payable.

10. A Member's resignation shall not be valid, save by a resolution of the Council, until he has paid up all his arrears of subscription; failing this he will be considered as a defaulter, and dealt with in accordance with Rule 8.

11. The Officers of the Society shall be: (1) The Chairman, (2) the Honorary Treasurer, and (3) the Honorary Secretary, all of whom must be Members of the Society. In addition to these there shall be a Secretary.

12. The Chairman shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for one year from the date of his election. He shall be eligible for re-election on the expiration of his tenure of office.

13. The Honorary Treasurer and the Honorary Secretary shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting, on the nomination of the Council, for two years, and are eligible for re-election.

14. The Secretary shall hold office during the pleasure of the Council.

15. The Chairman, as head of the Society, shall have the general supervision of its affairs. He will preside at Meetings of the Council, conduct the proceedings, give effect to resolutions passed, and cause the Rules of the Society to be put in force. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees, and may at any time summon a Meeting of the Council.

16. The Honorary Treasurer shall receive all moneys, and shall account for them. He shall not make any payments (other than current and petty cash expenses) without the previous order of the Council. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees. He shall exercise a general supervision over the expenditure of the Society, and shall prepare and submit to the Auditors at the expiration of each year a statement showing the receipts and expenditure of the Society for the period in question. All cheques must be signed by him, or in his absence any Member of the Council acting for him.

17. The Honorary Secretary shall, in the absence of the Chairman, exercise a general control over the affairs of the Society, and shall, ex officio, be a Member of Council and of all Committees.

18. The Honorary Secretary shall attend the Meetings of the

Society, and shall attend at the Rooms of the Society at such times as the Council may direct. He shall superintend the persons employed by the Society, subject to the general control of the Council. He shall be competent on his own responsibility to discharge small bills, but any account exceeding the amount of Five Pounds shall, except in cases of great urgency, be submitted for approval to the Council before payment. He shall have the charge, under the general direction of the Council, of printing and publishing the Transactions of the Society.

19. The Secretary shall act generally under the orders of the Hon. Secretary, and if at any time the former is prevented by illness or any other cause from attending to the duties of his office, the Hon. Secretary shall act in his absence; but in the case of prolonged absence the Council shall have power to make such special arrangements as may at the time be considered expedient.

20. There shall be a Council consisting of twelve Members of the Society, exclusive of the Chairman but inclusive of the Honorary Officers of the Society.

21. The Members of Council as aforesaid shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting on the nomination of the Chairman in Council, subject to any amendment of which due notice has been given, as provided in Rule 23.

22. There shall be prepared and forwarded to every Member in Great Britain, together with the notice as to the Anniversary Meeting, a list containing the names of persons so nominated to serve on the Council for the ensuing year, together with any other names, should they be proposed and seconded by other Members, a week's notice being given to the Secretary. The List of Members nominated as aforesaid shall be first put to the Meeting, and, if carried the amendments (if any) shall not be put.

23. Of the Members of Council other than those referred to in Rules 12 and 13—i.e., the Officers—three shall retire annually by seniority. They shall be eligible for re-election.

24. Should any vacancy occur among the Honorary Officers or other Members of Council during the interval between two Anniversary Meetings, such vacancy may be filled up by the Council.

25. The Ordinary Meetings of Council shall be held not less than once a month from November to June inclusive.

26. Special Meetings of Council may be summoned under the sanction of the Chairman, or in his absence by a circular letter from the Secretary.

28. At Meetings of Council the Chair shall be taken by the Chairman, and in his absence the Senior Member present shall take the Chair. The decision of any matter shall rest with the majority, and in case of an equality of votes the Chairman shall have the casting vote in addition to his ordinary vote.

29. Committees may be appointed by the Council to report on specific questions, and unless otherwise stated three shall form a quorum. Such Committees shall be authorized to consult persons not members of the Society.

30. Ordinary General Meetings are for hearing and discussing papers and for addresses, but no resolutions other than votes of thanks for papers read shall be passed at such meetings except by permission of the Chairman.

31. Special General Meetings are for considering and dealing with matters of importance, such as the making or amendment of its Rules, or questions seriously affecting its management and constitution. No business shall be transacted at such meetings except that for which they are summoned, and of which notice has been given.

32. The Anniversary Meeting for receiving and considering the Annual Report of the Council and Auditors, and dealing with the recommendations contained therein for the appointment of Members of the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, and for hearing the President's Address (if any), and deliberating generally on the affairs of the Society, shall be held in June of each year. But no resolution seriously affecting the management or position of the Society, or altering its Rules, shall be passed unless due notice shall have been given in the manner prescribed for Special General Meetings.

33. Ordinary Meetings shall be convened by notice issued to accessible Members, and as a general rule they shall be held on the first Wednesday in each month from November to May, both inclusive, the Wednesday of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas weeks being excepted. At such meetings, and also at the Anniversary Meeting, but not at special General Meetings, each Member of the Society shall have the privilege of introducing, either personally or by card, two visitors.

34. Ten Members shall form a quorum.

The Accounts shall be audited annually by an Auditor nominated by the Council. The employment of a professional Auditor shall be permissible. The Report presented by the Auditor shall be read at the next ensuing Anniversary Meeting.

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF
THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

CORRECTED TO APRIL 1, 1914

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

Chairman :

1918. THE RT. HON. SIR H. MORTIMER DURAND, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I.,
K.C.I.E.

Vice-Presidents :

1904. LORD LAMINGTON, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.
1905. LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.I.E.
1906. COLONEL SIR THOMAS H. HOLDICH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B.
1908. SIR VALENTINE CHIROL.
1908. RT. HON. LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
1918. THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, M.P.

Hon. Treasurer :

1912. A. COTTERELL TUPP, I.C.S., LL.D.

Hon. Secretary :

1912. E. PENTON, JUNR.

Members of the Council :

1911. SIR FREDERIC FRYER, K.C.S.I.
1911. LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.
1912. COLONEL PEMBERTON, R.E.
1912. COLONEL SIR HENRY TROTTER, K.C.M.G., C.B.
1912. SIR WALTER LAWRENCE, G.C.I.E.
1912. THE RT. HON. SIR WEST RIDGEWAY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I.
1918. E. R. P. MOON, ESQ.
1918. SIR EVAN JAMES, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
1918. COLONEL J. G. KELLY, C.B.

Secretary

1905. MISS HUGHES.

LIST OF MEMBERS

The names marked with an asterisk are of those who have served on the Council. The names in capitals are those of present Members of Council. Names in italics are those of Councillors resident in India. The names marked with a dagger are those of original Members.

A

- 1910. Abdul Qaiyum, Khan Bahadur Sahibzada, C.I.E., Assistant Political Officer, Khaiber, Peshawar, N.W.F. Province.
- †Aglionby, Captain A., Junior Naval and Military Club, 96, Piccadilly, W.
- 1912. Allen, G. B., Free Chase, Warninglid, Sussex.
- 1912. Amedroz, H. F., 48, York Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.

B

- 1908. Baddeley, F. J., 34, Bruton Street, W.
- 1910. Bailey, Captain F. M., 7, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, N.B.
- 1906. Bailward, Colonel A. C., R.A. (ret.), 1, Prince's Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.
- 1905. Barnes, Sir Hugh Shakespear, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., 7, Cheyne Place, Chelsea.
- 1913. Barrow, Major-General Sir Edmund, G.C.B., Artillery Mansions Hotel, S.W.
- 10** 1910. Beauclerk, Lord Osborne de Vere, Brooks' Club, 4, St. James's Street, S.W.
- 1907. Benn, Major R. A., C.I.E., Political Agent, Kalat, Baluchistan.
- †Bennett, T. J., Harwarton House, Speldhurst, Kent.
- 1910. Bigg-Wither, Captain F., I.A., Deputy Commr., c/o Messrs. A. Scott and Co., Rangoon, Burma.
- 1909. Blandy, J. E., Madeira.
- 1903. Bottomley, Frank, 157, Sheen Road, Richmond, Surrey.
- †Bruce, Lieut.-Col. C. D., Wynters Grange, Harlow, Essex.
- †Buchanan, W. A., 23, Great Winchester Street, E.C.
- 1912. Bury, The Viscount, Guards' Club, 70 Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1914. Bury, C. Howard, Bath Club, Dover Street, W.

C

- 20** 1907. Cadell, P., c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
- †Carey, A. D., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
- 1903. CHIROR, Sir Valentine, 34, Carlyle Square, Chelsea, S.W. Vice-President.
- 1908. Cox, Lieut.-Col. Sir Percy Z., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Knockdrin, Simla.
- †Crow, Mrs. F. A., 17, Westgate Terrace, Redcliffe Gardens, S.W.

1907. Cunningham, Sir William, K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (ret.), Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.
 1907. CURZON OF KEPLESTON, The Rt. Hon. Earl, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Hackwood, near Basingstoke, Hants, Vice-President.

D

1908. Dane, Hon. Sir Louis, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Barnes Court, Simla, India.
 1908. Daukes, Captain C. T., c/o Thos. Cook and Son, Bombay, India.
 †Dartrey, The Earl of, 10, Upper Belgrave Street, S.W.
 30 1906. Davis, W. S., Bhopal Agency, Sehore, Central India.
 1908. *Donoughmore, The Earl of, 5, Chesterfield Gardens, W.
 1906. Dobbs, H. R. C., I.C.S., Sibi, Baluchistan, India.
 1910. Douglas, Captain H. A., Derwent Lodge, Lansdowne Road, Tunbridge Wells.
 1913. Douglas-Pennant, Captain Hon. G. H., Guards' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1910. Drummond, Miss, Kensington Palace Mansions, W.
 1903. *†Durand, Colonel A. G. A., C.B., C.I.E., 31, Park Lane.
 1907. *DURAND, The Right Hon. Sir H. Mortimer, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., 42, Montagu Square, W. Chairman.

E

- †Elphinstone, Lord, Carlton Club, 94, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1911. Etherton, Captain P., Lansdowne, Garhwal, U.P., India.

F

- 40 1907. Fancourt, Col. St. J. F. M., C.B., Deancroft, near Stowmarket, Suffolk.
 1907. *FRASER, Lovat, The White House, Slough.
 1906. FRYER, Sir Frederic, K.C.S.I., 23, Elvaston Place, Queen's Gate, S.W.

G

1908. Gabriel, Vivian, C.S.I., C.V.O., I.C.S., c/o The Foreign Department, Government of India, Simla, India.
 1913. Garrard, S. H., Cavalry Club, and Welton Place, Daventry, Northants.
 1909. Gearon, Miss S., Ladies' Empire Club, 69, Grosvenor Street, W.
 1908. Gibson, Miss, 101, Philbeach Gardens, S.W.
 1908. Godfrey, Lieut.-Col. Stuart H., Indian Army. Political Agent, Dir, Swat and Chitral, Malakand, N.W.F.

H

1904. *Hart-Davies, T., I.C.S. (ret.), East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
 †Hills-Johnes, General Sir James, V.C., G.C.B., Dolaucothy, Llanwrda, R.S.O., South Wales.
50 *†HOLDICH, Colonel Sir Thomas H., K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., 41, Courtfield Road, S.W. Vice-President.
 1908. Howell, E. B., I.C.S., Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, 23, Chesterton Road, Cambridge.
 1906. Hughes, T. O., Political Agent, Panjgur via Karachi, India.

I

1906. India, Secretary of State for, India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
 †Inglis, Major J. D., St. Mary's, Colchester, Essex.

J

- *†JAMES, Sir Evan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Glenshee, Cambridge Park, Twickenham. M. of C.
 †Jardine, Mrs., 21, Pembridge Crescent, Bayswater, W.
 *†Jardine, W. E., I.C.S., C.I.E., The Residency, Gwalior, Central India.
 1908. Jennings, Col. R. H., R.E. (ret.), C.S.I., 20, Roland Gardens, S.W.

K

1907. *KELLY, Col. J. G., C.B., 30, West Cromwell Road, Kensington, W. M. of C.
60 1913. Kemp, Miss, 26, Harley House, Regent's Park, N.W.
 1912. Kennedy, G. R., 24, Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
 †King, Sir H. Seymour, K.C.I.E., 25, Cornwall Gardens, S.W.

L

1904. *LAMINGTON, The Rt. Hon. Lord, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., 26, Wilton Crescent, S.W.; Vice-President.
 1907. *LAWRENCE, Sir Walter, Bart., G.C.I.E., 22, Sloane Gardens, S.W., M. of C.
 1908. *Lloyd, George, M.P., 99, Eaton Place, S.W.
 1912. Loch, Lieutenant P. G., 97th Infantry, c/o Messrs. Cox & Co., Bombay, India.
 1908. Lockhart, Lady, C.I., 187, Queen's Gate, S.W.
 1909. Lyall, Captain, R.A., I.A., Parachinar, Kurrum Valley, N.W.F. Province, India.

M

1909. Macartney, Sir George, K.C.I.E., H.B.M. Consul, Kashgar, Chinese Turkestan.
70 1908. Malcolm, Lieut.-Colonel Neill, D.S.O., Staff College, Sandhurst.

1912. · Medicott, Captain H., Cavalry Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1911. Merk, W. H., C.S.I., Starling Leeze House, Coggeshall, Essex.
1910. Miles, Lieut.-Colonel P. J., 51st Sikhs, Peshawar, India.
1903. Moon, E. R. P., 6, Onslow Gardens, S.W. M. of C.
†Murray, John, M.A., D.L., J.P., F.S.A., 50A, Albemarle
Street, Piccadilly, W.

N

1905. Neill, Professor J. W., I.C.S. (ret.), 4, Campden House
Chambers, Kensington, W.

0

1906. O'Connor, Major W. F. T., R.A., C.I.E., Foreign Office,
Calcutta, India.
1905. Oliver, D. G., 67th Punjabis, Junior United Service Club,
Charles Street, S.W.

P

- 80** †Peel, The Viscount, 52, Grosvenor Street, W.
1907. PEMBERTON, Col., R.E. (ret.), B6, The Albany, Piccadilly, W., and Pyrland Hall, Taunton. M. of C.
*†PENTON, E., 2, Cambridge Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.
Hon. Sec. M. of C.
†Perowne, J. T. Woolrych, Posbury House, Crediton, Devon.
1914. Perry-Ayscough, H. G. C., c/o The Chinese Post Office, Shanghai, China (via Siberia).
1908. Phipson, H., 10, Hyde Park Mansions, W.
†Picot, Colonel, Indian Army (ret.), 43, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
1905. Preece, J. R., 1, St. James's Place, S.W.

B

1910. Raines, Lady, 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W.
 1912. Richmond, Mrs. Bruce, 3, Sumner Place, S.W.
 90 1904. *RIDGEWAY, The Rt. Hon. Sir West, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.,
 K.C.S.I., LL.D., 10, Ormonde Gate, S.W. M. of C.
 †RONALDSHAY, THE EARL OF, M.P., 38, Grosvenor Street,
 W. Vice-President.

S

1907. Salano, E. J., 4, Park Lane, W.
 †Sandbach, General A. E., D.S.O., R.E., Naval and Military
 Club, 94, Piccadilly, W.
 1908. Sandbach, H., 129, Mount Street, W.
 1908. Scovell, Captain A. M., Seaforth Highlanders, Caledonian
 Club, St. James's Square, S.W.

1903. Showers, Major H. L., C.S.I., C.I.E., Resident at Jaipur, Rajputana, c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 54, Parliament Street, Westminster, S.W.
1912. Stainton, B. W., c/o Messrs. Hickie, Borman, Grant & Co., 14, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, S.W.
1903. Stein, J. J., 19, Kensington Court, W.
- 100** 1909. Stein, Sir Aurel, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc. Superintendent Arch. Survey, Frontier Circle, Peshawar, N.W.F.P., India.
1910. Stirling, Capt. H. F. D., 59th Sind Rifles, Frontier Force, Chitral, N.W.F. Province, India.
1907. Stokes, Major C. B., 3rd Skinner's Horse, Military Attaché at Teheran, 50, Marlborough Hill, N.W.
1903. Swayne, Major H. G. C., R.E., Headquarters of the Army in India, Simla.
- †Sykes, Miss Ella E., Elcombs, Lyndhurst, Hants.
1905. Sykes, Miss Ethel R., Elcombs, Lyndhurst, Hants.
1904. Sykes, H. R., Longnor Hall, Leebotwood, Shrewsbury.
1907. Sykes, Colonel P. Molesworth, C.I.E., C.M.G., 4, Lyall Street, Belgrave Square, S.W.

T

1903. Tanner, Miss, Parkside, Corsham, Wilts.
1903. Tayler, Miss H., 34, Kensington Court Mansions, W.
- 110** 1908. Taylor, Arthur Boddam, 123, Sinclair Road, W. Kensington, W.
1905. Thomas, F. W., Ph.D., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1908. Tod, Lieut.-Col. J. K., Indian Army, 7th Haryana Lancers, Jacobabad, Sind, India.
1907. Trevor, Sir Arthur, K.C.S.I., 16, Harcourt Terrace, Redcliffe Square, S.W.
1907. TROTTER, Col. Sir H., K.C.M.G., C.B., 18, Eaton Place S.W. M. of C.
1908. Tucker, A. L. P., St. James's Club, Piccadilly, W.
- *†TUPP, A. Cotterell, I.C.S., LL.D., 17, Devonshire Terrace, Lancaster Gate, W. (*Hon. Treasurer*). M. of C.
1903. Tupp, Mrs. Cotterell, 17, Devonshire Terrace, Lancaster Gate, W.

V

1905. Vanderbyl, P. B., B4, The Albany, Piccadilly, W.

W

1911. Waller, Miss D., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W.
- 120** 1911. Waller-Sawyer, Mrs., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W., and Moystown House, Belmont, King's Co., Dublin.
- †Walton, Sir Joseph, M.P., Reform Club, 104, Pall Mall, S.W.
1905. Watson, Major John William, I.M.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay

1912. Woods, H. C., 171, Victoria Street, S.W.

Y

†YATE, Lieut.-Colonel Arthur C., Beckbury Hall, Shifnal, Shropshire.

1905. Yate, Colonel C. E., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., 17, Prince of Wales Terrace, W. M. of C.

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NOTE

THE Council of the Central Asian Society have had under consideration the project of enlarging their publications by the addition of short articles and notes on current events in the East. It is hoped to present four parts in each year. The present issue forms the third number.

MONGOLIA : ITS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ASPECT*

BY CAPTAIN R. B. OTTER-BARRY

I FEEL it a great honour to be asked to lecture to so learned a society as yourselves to-day, but I much regret that my friend and collaborator in our book, Mr. Perry-Ayscough, is not present on the platform to describe his interesting journey through those little known parts of Mongolia by Uliassutai and Kobdo, to Kosh-a-Gatch and Biisk.

Unfortunately he has been obliged to return to China, and he left England for America on March 18.

My idea to-day is first to try to show the political importance of Mongolia in the Far East; and then to give you some faint idea of the people and resources of this vast country.

I am indebted to Mrs. Bulstrode for some six of the slides shown this afternoon.

Mongolia is to Russia what Tibet is to our Indian Empire. Though one of them is a plateau, and the other a mountainous and difficult country, they both succeed in dividing Russia and India respectively from China. Both these countries are under more or less of the suzerainty of the Flowery Land, and the inhabitants of both resemble each other in many ways. It has been said, and to some purpose, that Europe owes a debt of gratitude to Russia for stemming the onrush of those Mongol hordes some 600 years ago, and preventing them from overrunning Europe, when Europe was in a general state of unrest. There are some, too, who assert that it was a great pity that Russia was ever defeated in their war with Japan in 1904-1905; they assure us that this defeat encouraged the advance of the East to the West, and lessened that prestige in force of arms of European nations in the eyes of all Asiatics. Be all this as it may, it is quite apparent that Russia forms a buffer to the advance of the East in Europe—a wall against the Yellow Peril, a serious consideration when we realize the rising expense of labour in the West. Certainly imported Eastern commercial enterprise and cheap Eastern labour is the last thing we want in Europe.

* Read April 1, 1914.

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Between Russia and Great Britain there are several points of similarity, but perhaps the chief ones are their genius for pioneer work and colonization, and the great stakes that both countries hold in the East. But there is a similarity with a great difference. Russia has the advantage of combining both her colonization and Eastern advance on the same mainland. Where her colonization in her "Canada"—namely Siberia—ends, her Eastern advance commences. Railways join her to her most distant dominions, and her system of general protection is much facilitated. On the other hand, Great Britain's spheres of influence are widely scattered all over the world. There is but little consolidation, and very great expense has to be incurred to keep up even an inadequate protective scheme.

In the East Great Britain, starting from the south in India, *has* moved onwards northward. I bring emphasis to bear on the "*has*," for it seems as if at present her policy in the East is to mark time—a dangerous policy for any country, for too often it means "*go back*," and far more dangerous when a country such as Russia, starting from the north, *is* moving down towards the south and Great Britain's sphere of influence. Here I bring emphasis to bear on the "*is*," because Russia's policy is a continuous policy of advance—the policy of Peter the Great, continued ceaselessly despite set-backs such as the Japanese War. Sooner or later Russia's advance must clash with the boundaries of Great Britain's sphere of influence, and the question that remains to be answered is when? and how?

The general distribution in Asia of territory at the present day differs much from what it did some eighty years ago. It shows quite clearly Russia's advance both on the east and west of Mongolia. Though Mongolia's boundary itself remains much the same, actual Russian influence in Mongolia itself is very much greater to-day, and has been increasing yearly. Still, this has not been done without considerable expense to Russia, when one realizes that since 1899 she has been obliged to almost double the war strength of her army.

Let us just take a cursory glance at Persia. Here, by the 1907 Convention, three spheres of influence were arranged. It is impossible now to go into detail, but generally speaking Great Britain took the Southern, the central sphere remained neutral, and Russia took the Northern and largest sphere, including Tehran, Persia's capital.

Russia chooses her ministers well, and it is quite significant that lately H. E. Monsieur Korostovetz, one of Russia's strongest and most able Eastern diplomats, has been sent as minister to Tehran. Monsieur Korostovetz was the plenipotentiary who carried out the late Mongolian question; and as I personally know him, I can quite realize why Russia has seen fit to send so able and strong a man to keep up Russia's interests in Persia at a critical period.

Let us turn to Russia's present position on the Northern Frontier

of Afghanistan. The Oxus forms her boundary there. In 1866 Bokhara ceded the province of Syr-Daria to Russia, and in 1873 a treaty with Bokhara practically made Bokhara a Russian dependency.

A railway running parallel to the Oxus, and averaging some 250 miles from it, threads its way from Merv through Bokhara, Samarkand, Kokand, to Andijan. A branch has been built from Merv to Afghanistan's frontier at Kushk Post, 80 miles from Herat, and another, with construction trains said to be now running, from Samarkand to Termez, some 230 miles. This middle East Railway system is joined to the Trans-Siberian by a line from near Samarkand, and another line leaves Merv for the Caspian Sea.

By the 1907 Convention, Russia is prevented from entering Afghanistan. But conventions can be broken, and it is interesting to know that Russia has a proposed plan for an invasion of Afghanistan towards Kabul and Kandahar via Kushk Post and Termez, drawn up by that Russian General Kuropatkin, who figured so largely in the Russo-Jap War.

True, the country of Afghanistan is tremendously difficult, but more than one invasion of India has been made by this northern way in olden days. We have most of us heard of Colonel Burnaby's ride to Khiva. It was only in 1872 that, on a pretext that the Khivans had aided the rebellious Kirghiz, Russia advanced on the capital of this Khanate, and forced the Khivans to sign a treaty putting this State under Russian control; since this time Russian influence in both Khiva and Bokhara has advanced much quicker than the prophets of those days imagined could ever be the case; and both these States, like Mongolia, at one time formed part of the great empire of Jenghis Khan. I must not dally here, but before coming to Mongolia proper, let us fly across Chinese Turkestan and Mongolia to Manchuria, and just trace Russia's advance in this country—the eastern boundary of Mongolia.

It is quite impossible to give even a sketchy outline of all the little bickerings and arrangements that Russia and China have carried out during very many years on this boundary. It is just sufficient for our purpose to state that Russia's energies for many years were concentrated on her attempt to obtain an ice-free port. Vladivostock was found of little use, a half-frozen port almost under the surveillance of Japan; Port Arthur was obtained on lease from China at a time of general unrest in the Eastern Sphere, and Russia was freely overflowing into Manchuria. Then the disastrous war with Japan came as a tremendous blow to Russia. She had underestimated the strength of her Eastern adversary, and miscalculated her railway facilities compared with the sea transport of Japan. She had to relinquish her ice-free Port Arthur, but her treaty, on conclusion of the war with Japan, still gave her control of the railway to the junction Kwang Cheng-tzu, and she still

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retained and has increased her influence in North Manchuria. At last we have come to Mongolia, the subject of this paper. I have been endeavouring to show the importance of Mongolia's position in the East politically, and the reasons that perhaps have induced Russia to take her opportunity for consolidating her influence in Mongolia. On the west Russia has reached that point where further advance on her part must clash with British interests. On the east, Japan has dealt her a distinct rebuff—temporarily only, perhaps, but a stinging blow for all that. Has Russia learned her lesson that Asiatic races with modern military training are not to be despised? Did she think it necessary on the first opportunity to make sure of her influence in Mongolia (1) before such a time as China might in the far future become too strong for her to tamper with, or (2) before Japan, well occupied now in South Manchuria with financial difficulties and political disturbances at home, had recovered sufficient strength to put in any serious objection to her advance? Whatever her reason, her action was well timed with the Balkan War in the Near East and the Chinese Revolution in the Far East.

The spiritual and temporal ruler of Mongolia is the Hu-Tuk-Tu, whose palace is under the sacred Mount Bogdo, the home of wild animals who become quite tame and docile. The Hu-Tuk-Tu is the ruler of the remnant of those Mongols who, in the thirteenth century, became, under Jenghis Khan, a formidable nation.

Jenghis Khan died in 1227, whilst conducting a campaign in Central Asia, and the conquest of North China was completed half a century later by his grandson Kublai Khan, who established the Yuan Dynasty with his Capital at Peking.

The splendour of Kublai's Court has been described by Marco Polo, who says that, "If you were to put together all the Christians in the world, with their Emperors and Kings, the whole of these Christians—aye, and throw in the Saracens to boot—would not have such power, or be able to do as much as this Kublai, who is the Lord of all the Tartars in the world."

Meanwhile, the conquests begun by Jenghis Khan in the West were continued by his successors.

The Mongol hordes not only swept over China, but subjugated Persia, Hindustan, Russia, Poland, Hungary, and turned back only at the gates of Vienna. The Mongol yoke over Russia was thrown off by Grand Duke Dimitri, who defeated the Mongols at the Battle of Kalka. At the end of the fourteenth century the Mongols were expelled by the Ming Dynasty from the throne of China. They had become too unwieldy, their power without co-operation amongst themselves gradually dwindled and dwindled until on the establishment of the Manchu Dynasty in China, which had ousted the Ming Dynasty, Inner or Southern Mongolia acknowledged the suzerainty of the Manchus.

Then, towards the end of the seventeenth century, Northern Mongolia sought the protection of the Manchus, and in 1691 acknowledged the suzerainty of the Son of Heaven. So had this remnant of the great Mongol Empire become vassals of China—the Chinese were clever in their methods of enthraldom. They encouraged that effete form of Buddhism, Lamaism, amongst the Mongols, for their own ends. They turned the former Chieftains of the Mongol tribes into paid officials, and threw them a sop of the title of Prince. They transformed a formerly warlike people into a nation of peaceful nomads. They gave them a certain amount of home rule, whilst retaining the supreme power. They had, in fact, employed their usual methods of peaceful subjugation, and were gradually absorbing the country and its people. They encroached into Mongolia with their Colonists many miles north of the Great Wall; they sent Colonists to the fertile valleys of North Mongolia to till the ground. The Mongols, adepts as horsemasters and herdsmen, and absolutely unadapted for tilling the ground or for commerce, found themselves entirely dependent on the Chinese merchant for most of their few necessities, and fewer luxuries; and so we find this remnant of a race descended from warriors—a nation who by the sword had held and ruled great empires—like some poor old soldier, his art of fighting gone, with no taste or experience of commerce or agriculture to take its place, compelled to accept the rule of its former vassal.

As one travels through their country one's thoughts fling back to modern civilization, to telephones, motor-cars, tube railways, the hurry and stress of modern life, and one cannot help thinking that perhaps after all the Mongols have the better part. But modern civilization, that great "Juggernaut," grinds on relentlessly; and nations that will not, or cannot, join the procession must be ground beneath the feet of those that will.

Japan has learnt that lesson, China is awakening, but the fate of Mongolia is hanging in the balance.

Mongolia is divided geographically and politically into two great sections—Inner and Outer Mongolia. The former skirts the northern boundary of China, and for the most part its Princes own allegiance to the Chinese Republic. Outer Mongolia, or Halhar, on the other hand, is the centre of the Hu-Tuk-Tu's sphere of influence. It consists of four big principalities: (1) Tse-tsen Khan; (2) To-She-tu Khan; (3) Jassask-tu Khan; (4) Sain-noin Khan, which are again divided into eighty-nine petty principalities.

In the north-west extremity of Mongolia is the disputed district of Uriankhai, which the Mongols wish the Russians to recognize as part of Mongolia. On the north-east of Mongolia is another district, that of Hulumbuiya, or Barga, which forms part of the Chinese province of Heilung-Kiang (north-west of Manchuria). This district is claimed by

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the Mongols to belong to Outer Mongolia, as they allege that the population inhabiting that area has always been Mongolian. Otherwise Mongolia's boundary to the north reaches as far as Siberia; in the west it is hedged in by Russian Turkestan, Dzungaria, that home of Chinese exiles, and Sinkiang, or Chinese Turkestan. To the east the great Khingan Mountains, gradually sloping towards the sea, divides Mongolia from Manchuria, and the north of China fills up the gap on her southern boundary. This great upland of Mongolia, averaging 3,000 feet above the sea-level, is girdled by snow-capped mountains; within are fertile valleys, large rivers, rich mineral-bearing tracts, grassy steppes and sandy wastes.

In the seventeenth century Mongolia, or rather Urga, was already known to the Russians commercially.

The commercial missions took the opportunity of pushing trade during their stay in North Mongolia, and in 1727 a definite decision of frontiers at Kiachta was arrived at.

Russia's inroad into Mongolia had begun, and in 1858, by the Treaty of Aigun, a Russian Consulate was established at Urga, and Russia had obtained her definite stand in Mongolian territory.

In 1881 the St. Petersburg Treaty was signed by Russia and China. This treaty, as well as dealing with the re-establishment of Chinese authority in Ili, dealt with certain trade and frontier conditions in Mongolia.

The increase of the Chinese army trained on modern lines was sufficient to make her think of Japan's rapid military development. It was essential for her to obtain a buffer State between herself and China. By 1909-10 these sentiments were almost openly expressed. Certainly they were on the lips of more than one of her greatest Eastern diplomats.

In 1910-11 Russia commenced to press China to a consent of renewal in modified terms of this treaty of 1881. But the Chinese Government would not acquiesce, and negotiations continued to be spun out indefinitely. Russia backed up her request by dispatching a division of troops from Transbaikalia down the Trans-Siberian Railway. The Chinese gave in and little was heard of the episode, but Russia's action here showed her hand. She intended to brook no interference from China. Profiting by her experience at the hands of Japan, she did not mean to wait until China was strong enough to back her word by force. Japan barred her way temporarily in Manchuria. China was not to be allowed to prevent her wishes in Mongolia from being materialized. Then came Russia's stroke of luck, the outbreak in October, 1911, of the Chinese Revolution—a revolution that perhaps was half expected by those who knew of the strength of the Kuo-Ming-tang society. China was harassed by her internal troubles; her

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troops, even if they had been ready for use, were fully occupied here, there, and everywhere in China itself.

In August, 1912, the Russian Government informed China that, as China refused to negotiate the revision of the treaty, she, Russia, had no other course but to consider the agreement of 1881 as remaining in force for another ten years. Russia, however, was ready to abolish the duty-free zone of fifty versts on the Russian side of the frontier as from January 14, 1913, and would have no objection to a simultaneous abolition of the privileges in vogue on the Chinese side. Prior to this, dissatisfaction in Urga had arisen amongst the Mongols against the Chinese Government, and especially against the Chinese officials in North Mongolia. Previous appeals to the Peking Government had met with no redress and but little response. In July, 1911, the Hu-Tuk-Tu took matters into his own hands. He presided over a meeting of certain influential Mongol Princes, and at this meeting it was resolved to seek the Tsar's protection. A deputation of Mongol Princes was dispatched to St. Petersburg, and arrived there in August, 1911. The deputation was officially received, and returned to Urga with the assurance that Russia would make representations to Peking.

The position was, however, a difficult one. Here was the nominal vassal of a neighbouring Power applying to Russia for protection. Russia's sympathy was with the Mongols. It was her policy to take this opportunity of consolidating her influence in Mongolia, and at the same time appearing as the protector of the Mongols. Accordingly, she informed the Chinese Government that she would not allow harsh measures to be taken against Mongolia, and proposed a *modus vivendi* based on the following conditions:

1. Conservation of inner *status quo* in Mongolia.
2. No admission of Chinese Colonists.
3. No Chinese garrison to be stationed in Halhar (Outer Mongolia).

The Chinese declined to accept these conditions, and in November the Mongols declared their independence and abolished the Chinese Government in Urga; the Amban San To (the Chinese Administrator) and the Chinese officers fled for protection to the Russian Consulate. At the same time the Mongols applied again to the Russians for money, arms, and diplomatic intervention.

Russia deemed it expedient to presume once more to establish an arrangement between Mongolia and China. In this attempt she repeated her previous demands, and the Republican Government of China, which by now had established itself at Peking, rejected them. Russia thenceforth advised China that she would negotiate direct with the newly-established Mongol Government. In September, 1912, she sent a special plenipotentiary, Monsieur Korostovetz, to negotiate with the Mongols direct at Urga. The pourparlers with the Hu-Tuk-Tu and his

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Ministers resulted in the signing of a political convention and commercial treaty called the "Protocol."

The gist of this treaty gave to Mongolia the Russian aid in order that Mongolia might retain her newly-created autonomous Constitution, also the right of having her own national troops and of refusing to allow Chinese troops or Chinese colonization in her territory. -On the other hand, Mongolia threw open her country to Russian trade, and guaranteed not to allow other nations any more trading rights than Russia held. The Mongol Government also guaranteed that in case they entered into any other agreement with China or any other State, such new agreement was not to infringe any claims of the present agreement with Russia without her consent. In a word, Russia gave Mongolia her protection for rights of trade; but the Chinese, being informed of this agreement, declined to recognize its value, insisting on their sovereign rights over Mongolia, and the impossibility of Mongolia entering into any sort of agreement without her sanction. At the same time, China began to assemble troops on the border of Inner Mongolia at Kalgan, Moukden, Kwang-cheng-tzu, Hailar, and Tsi-tsi-har, advancing also from Urumtsi in the province of Sin-Kiang towards Uliasutai and Kobdo. The Mongols, on their side, made warlike preparations, sending troops to the borders of Outer Mongolia.

In December, 1912, the Mongols sent a mission to St. Petersburg to express their gratitude for the conclusion of the agreement, and for the support afforded by Russia.

The leader of this mission was Prince Han Daradji, Minister of Foreign Affairs, assisted by Prince Shemine Damdim. They were well received in Russia, who promised Mongolia her aid. However, in April, 1913, China and Russia, having renewed negotiations, succeeded in elaborating an understanding, the conditions of which seemed sufficiently satisfactory to both sides.

The understanding recognized China's sovereignty over Outer Mongolia, and at the same time preserved some sort of inner self-government. The Mongol Ministers, who were watching these negotiations with great suspicion and distrust, lodged a petition simultaneously in Peking and St. Petersburg, and asked to be represented as being the party vitally concerned in the question. Meantime, the six conditions were submitted to the House of Representatives at Peking in May, but after protracted discussion, and after a vote by a majority in favour of ratification, the Senate, owing to the prepondering influence of the Kuo-Ming-tang party, refused to endorse the Russian proposals. Seeing that there was no possibility of reaching an understanding, Russia declared to China that she could not continue negotiations in the same strain. Accordingly, in July, 1913, she submitted a new basis of negotiation, embodying much harsher terms.

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However, on November 5, 1913, a treaty was signed by Russia and China, which practically made Mongolia an autonomous buffer State, with the very nominal suzerainty of China. Neither Russia nor China were to colonize in or maintain troops in Mongolia, and Outer Mongolia was given complete autonomy, and the conditions as regards rights of trade of the Russians as before agreed in the Mongol-Russian Treaty still held good.

It should be added that several times during these negotiations of 1912-13 the Chinese attempted to negotiate with the Mongols. Their wish was that Mongolia should join the Republic, and letters and telegrams were constantly being exchanged on this subject. In every case the Mongols refused, alleging that they had nothing to do with the Chinese Republic. Their personal relations and allegiance had been rendered to the Manchu Dynasty, and with the overthrow of that dynasty all bonds were severed. The Chinese replied that they were of opinion that the Mongols owed allegiance to the Government of China, and not to the Manchu Dynasty. China pointed out the danger of Mongolia accepting Russian protection, and instanced the fate that had overtaken Korea and Bokhara.

The Mongols are not by any means unanimous in their pleasure at the conclusion of the treaty. The Princes are some of them hard hit by the withdrawal of the subsidies which they used to receive from the Peking Government. Now they have to obey the Central Mongol Government at Urga, which is nearer at hand than Peking, and is more exacting in its requirements.

More revenue is required to meet the expenses involved by the upkeep of an army in the field, consequently extra taxation has to be enforced. Needless to say, this taxation is unpopular amongst all classes of society.

The Mongols are beginning to find out, too, that government by their own countrymen is more severe and harsh than it was under the old régime.

The withdrawal of Chinese merchants is another blow, as the Russians are unable to replace them adequately.

The Mongols hoped to receive full independence, and are not satisfied merely with internal autonomy. They expected the whole of Mongolia to come under the Hu-Tuk-Tu's sway, and are dissatisfied and disgusted at the attitude assumed by the Inner Mongolians, who for the most part remained loyal to the Chinese Republic.

They also would like to have an accredited representative at St. Petersburg, and to have the Russian representative at Urga called a Minister, and not Consul-General. According to the latest information, they are very irate at Russia's action in cementing an agreement with China acknowledging even China's nominal suzerainty over Mongolia.

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Still in January, 1914, Russia had promised the Mongolians further monetary aid and aid in a military sense, provided the latter did not tend towards straining the Russo-Chinese relations. But fighting up to quite recently continued on the Mongol-Chinese borders. That Russia has the dominating influence there seems no doubt—that Mongolia is in a bad plight seems equally true, so thus we find the country of Mongolia desired by two great Empires—one European, the other Asiatic. A race now dwindled to some 2,000,000 souls, the remnant of a vast Empire, a cat's-paw for nations whom she herself had once conquered—encroached upon, despised, almost effete, entirely priest-ridden. In this last word lies the cause of her decline—an ignominious state for a nation with such a history.

Mr. Perry-Ayscough entered Mongolia by the Northern Gate of Kiachta, and travelled by tarantass to Urga. Here he stayed with the Plenipotentiary Monsieur Korostovetz for some little time, and decided to make his way to Europe via Uliassutai, Kobdo, Kosh-a-Gatch, through the lovely scenery of the Chuyan Alps, and then via Biisk to Novo Nikolaievsk on the Trans-Siberian Railway. At Kobdo, which he found almost deserted, he saw the traces of the resistance the handful of Chinese had made against the Mongols.

The scenery he passed through, especially that in the Chuyan Alps, and the curious people he met must have rewarded him for the discomfort of his journey by tarantass in weather very often severe.

He says he never left the beaten track, if such tracks can be called beaten.

I entered Mongolia by the Southern Gate of Kalgan, and once having ascended to Han-no-pa found myself on that undulating Mongolian plateau called the Gobi. Han-no-pa is the starting-place for caravans travelling by various roads across Mongolia. My caravan consisted of a Peking cart and four ponies. I slept in the cart at night. Occasionally I met other travellers on the line that I took—some of them with camel caravans, some of them with bullock-carts, and some of them only on foot, wheeling all their possessions some 650 miles, from Urga to China, and using a sail to help them on their way. The only buildings met with in the desert are the very occasional temples, as the wandering Mongol tribes live in felt tents. At Tuerin there is a lamasery nestling in a small oasis between low rocky hills. This lamasery was filled with Lamas ranging in size from small boys to old men, and here one saw examples of what Carlyle called the rotary calabash system of prayer. As one neared Urga one came across more prosperous-looking Mongols in their various encampments; among them was a Mongol lady with her nurse and two children. The nurse was droning a Mongol nursery rhyme to the youngest child:

When you grow up you'll ride a big horse,
Yai—Yai—Yai—Yai-Ya.

Then you will marry as a matter of course,
Yai—Yai—Yai—Yai-Ya.

What will you do when your children cry?
Yai—Yai—Yai—Yai-Ya.

Surely you'll do the same as I,
Yai—Yai—Yai—Yai-Ya.

In Urga itself you see smarter ladies than these country ones, just as you see smarter women in London than in the country. At Urga, where I stayed a short time, I was given by the Chinese Amban a pass entitling me to the use of horses from any Mongol troop of horses as I went along, so I travelled across country off the main track to the Yero gold-mining district. Threading my way through valley after valley of lovely country, alternately riding over grass such as we find in England, only more luxuriant, and through dense forests of firs, oak, and silver birch. The ground was carpeted with wild flowers, such as Turk's-cap lilies, larkspurs, pinks, poppies, and peonies. Eventually I made my way to Kiachta, the northern gate of Mongolia. The rivers were swollen and crossing was often difficult. The horses we had to drive into the water to swim across as best they could, while we with the cart drifted over on a primitive Mongolian ferry. While still some three or four miles from Kiachta the town could be clearly seen perched on the side of a hill. Examining it through field-glasses one could see even more clearly than in the case of Urga the divisions of the town. The Russian quarter, with church domes and large houses above, then the Chinese walled city, and below, at the bottom of the slope, a collection of humble Mongol dwellings, consisting of felt tents or "yurts." Thus Russia and China hover over Mongolia like two great birds of prey, waiting to drop on their victim. Ostensibly they are there to supply the commercial deficiencies of the Mongols. The capital of Urga is more to the Mongols as a great monastery than a capital in our sense of the word.

Religion is everything to the Mongols, and it is in Urga where thousands of Lama priests gather, fattening on the superstition of the lay community. The Mongols have no shops.

From an economic point of view, Mongolia can be divided into two parts by a line running from Hailar, along the Kerulun River through Urga, Uliassutai to Kosh-a-Gatch. Roughly speaking, south of this line, with the exception of the Chinese colonization of the Chinese border, is unproductive. This land is called "gobi" or desert. In the west I understand it is a sandy waste, but the eastern portion is more of a steppe country. Grazing there is, at certain times of the year, sufficient to keep troops of horses, etc. Water is scarce and brackish, and in some places there are salt lakes. To the north of this line, how-

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ever, there is a very different state of affairs. Here is a fine country said to be full of mineral wealth—gold, coal, and silver. So far there is only one gold-mining concern: that of the Mongolore Society who have scratched the gold in the Yero district, using Chinese labour and antiquated methods. In the province of Barga, which is really Manchuria, coal is being successfully mined. One of the few industries of the Mongols, if one can dignify it by so important a name, is the making of felt; this felt is made from wool and horse hair, and when made serves the Mongols for tents, portions of clothing, and for covering their carts. Some of this felt is exported to Russia and China. Cattle and sheep and hides are also exported, but perhaps Mongolia is noted more, in the east, for her Mongolian ponies. China buys nearly all her horse-flesh from Mongolia, and fine little beggars these ponies are, too, not only for rough hard riding, but for racing, polo, and driving.

The Russians contemplate building a railway from their Trans-Siberian line to Kiachta. Two routes have been suggested and surveyed—one from Masovaia on Lake Baikal, the other from Verhne-Udinsk down the Selenga Valley. Once this railway is completed, it cannot be many years before an extension is made to Urga. Then, probably, a line will be constructed across the Gobi Desert to Kwei-hua-chêng, from which place a line is now being completed to Kalgan to join the Peking-Kalgan Railway. Here a branch line may perhaps be thrown out west from Urga to Uliassutai, Kobdo, and Semipalatinsk, which would connect up again eventually, no doubt, with the Samarkand-Bokhara district railway system. Let us look forward in imagination to the time of the completion of this railway system. Cook will be issuing tourist tickets to the East via Urga, and we shall find that a break, perhaps, is allowed at Urga of a few days to enable tourists to see this ancient Mongol capital. Guides will show the tourists the great monasteries, the resting-place of that gigantic bronze Buddha. They will point out the ancient site of that iniquitous prison, and perhaps retail with relish some of the atrocities that used to be committed there. Peking will be brought four days nearer to London. Mongolia would then be well under Russian influence. The wealth of that rich northern portion would be developed, and those fertile valleys put under the plough, forming another granary for the world. Sporting men will be making trips to Mongolia, and the Mongols themselves will have become an almost negligible quantity: such is the picture that comes up in one's mind. The onrush of civilization! But how useless it is ever to attempt prophecy in the Far East. The Eastern mind is not to be comprehended by the Western. The East arrange matters so differently from what we expect. Even now the Russians, who formerly had bullied China, are beginning to fondle the Chinese Republic, or rather, their President, Yuan-Shih-Kai, and have ordered

the return of their Russian troops from Tientsin. A reaction, too, has set in in Mongolia against the Russians, the Mongols' former protectors.

One cannot help admiring that virile Russian race—no one who has watched the continuity of her policy of advance could help doing so—certainly Mongolia, unable to govern herself, under Russian protection has a chance of carrying out reforms that have been neglected by China. That iniquitous prison system, familiar to us all from Mrs. Bulstrode's picture in the *Illustrated London News*, for example, might then have a chance of abolition. The degenerating effects of Lamaism might then, too, in time be lessened, and education might gradually be inculcated. Russia thinks in centuries, not in years, and we can realize only too well the danger of any great Russian influence in Mongolia permeating into Tibet. There is but a strip of China between Mongolia and Tibet. The Lamas of one country are constantly moving into the other. The Mongol Lama is often educated at Lhasa. The very Hu-Tuk-Tu himself, the present ruler of Mongolia, is a Tibetan, the son of a former steward of the Dalai-Lama of Tibet. The Dalai-Lama of Tibet is the Spiritual Ruler of both countries, with thousands of fanatical followers. Should Russia be suspected of obtaining a dominating influence in Mongolia, it behoves Great Britain simultaneously to obtain a dominating influence in Tibet. We can only hope that Great Britain does not intend to imitate the merchant who spent so much care and time over his household affairs, that his business abroad failed to pay sufficient funds to meet the household bills.

LORD LAMINGTON: I have no personal acquaintance with Mongolia, but I followed with deep interest the vivid descriptions given by the lecturer of the Russian advance which goes on in such undeviating fashion in all those parts of Central Asia. I was unaware of the recent railway extensions toward Afghanistan of which mention has been made in the paper. The line from Samarkand to Termez is a very formidable factor as regards the position of Afghanistan between ourselves and Russia. We all know the powerful and indeed omnipotent position of Russia in Northern Persia, and it would seem that Russia will soon acquire definite ascendancy in Mongolia. I was unaware that the Mongolian and Tibetan frontiers are, with the exception of a narrow strip of Chinese territory, practically coterminous.

I feel very much the force of the concluding words of the lecture. There is a danger of our so intently gazing on home affairs, at a time when we are considering questions of the future political basis of the United Kingdom, as to neglect the problems of our Imperial position, especially in the Middle and Far East. The lecture, apart from its

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political interest, was also extremely vivid in its descriptions of Mongolian life, and a most striking contrast was drawn between the great Mongolian race of former times and their descendants of to-day. If they only number two millions, that must be a very large decrease from their numbers in the Middle Ages, when they gained the sovereignty of a great deal of Asia and some parts of Europe.

A lady said that in reference to the railways toward the northern frontiers of Afghanistan, she visited those territories of Russia twice recently with an interval of eighteen months between, and was much impressed with the work done in strengthening the railway system in that time. It was not only that an extra line had been laid down toward the frontier, but the whole system had been very much strengthened constructionally. It was very interesting and noticeable to see how rapidly the Russians could develop their railway systems.

Mr. C. HOWARD BURY said that when he recently travelled by the Trans-Caspian Railway he was told that a new line had been surveyed which was to start from Saratov and to run through Khiva, Bokhara, and Karshi to Kilif on the Afghan frontier ; also that a new railway had been surveyed and earthworks had been started north of Tashkent at Aris and to go to Pisppek. This part was expected to be completed in five years time. This line was then to be prolonged to Verny and on through Kapal to Semipalatinsk, thus linking up the whole of the frontier of Southern Turkestan by railway and in direct communication with European Russia.

Colonel PEMBERTON said he had visited the borders of Mongolia in 1891 on the north, and in 1898 on the south, and even then the Russian intention to establish her influence in that country could be foreseen.

Many Russian maps had been prepared and shown at meetings of societies in St. Petersburg, which assumed Russian ascendancy in Mongolia. He had no doubt that within the next few years the lecturer's prediction of a railway line running from Urga to Kalgan and connecting with the Peking railway, would materialize.

Captain OTTER-BARRY had mentioned a railway from the Trans-Siberian line to Kiachta, which would open up a very fertile country in Northern Mongolia.

Siberia was a wonderfully well-watered country with many great navigable rivers, and the same could be said of the northern portion of Mongolia, so that in many places there was an opening for wheat growing and other cultivation and, therefore, for the settlement of a large population. What were the two million Mongolians as between the vast Chinese and Russian populations? For them independence or a separate political existence was impossible—by the nature of things they could not avoid absorption sooner or later in the Russian Empire—and

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it was to be anticipated that the Mongolians themselves would come to appreciate the benefit of passing from the control of China to that of Russia.

And after all, it must be remembered in this connection, that China had a great task of her own before her—one which would assuredly absorb the energies of her people and Government for many years to come, so that it would be long indeed before she would be in a position to spare time, money, or attention necessary for the development of the resources or a closer study of the welfare of the peoples in the outlying portions of her great empire. Under Russia the Mongolians would develop a European type of civilization. The Russians had done good work in Turkestan—advancing education there more, perhaps, than among their own peasantry at home. Their administration, though bureaucratic, was in the main sound and good, and their administrators showed considerable powers of adaptation, which made him think that Mongolia had much to gain from the transfer to Russia. In respect to Tibet, there were undoubtedly affinities of religion and outlook between the Tibetans and the Mongolians which must effect the question so far as concerned our attitude towards that country.

Should Russian political influence predominate at Lhasa, which might well be the result of coterminous frontiers in that part of Asia, our prestige would suffer and the security of the Tibetan frontier of our Indian Empire be imperilled. Should political parties at home continue to waste time in party warfare to the detriment of the larger affairs of the Empire, we should assuredly, sooner or later, reap the consequences of our neglect. In regard to the proximity of Mongolia to Tibet, he was not sure that the strip of Chinese territory properly lying between those countries on the Koko Nor side, was so narrow as had been suggested, or whether a Russian advance southwards in this direction was a feasible military operation; but in any event China would certainly be alive to any danger in this quarter, and could be relied upon to do her best to maintain her hold on the intervening territory—her sole means of communication with Chinese Turkestan. Rest assured that whatever the Republic's domestic preoccupations it would in the future be the policy of Chinese statesmen to increase their hold on Chinese Turkestan, among other means by the construction of railways and the improvement of communications generally. He doubted whether the day would ever come when Russia would have it in her power to cut off Chinese Turkestan by an advance southwards into Tibet. The conquest could, he thought, be more easily effected by an advance from the west from Russian Turkestan to Kuldja and Kashgar.

The Chairman (SIR THOMAS HOLDICH): We have all listened with very great interest to the lecture. We heard one not long ago from Mr. Gull which dwelt on the descriptive and social side of Mongolian

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life, while to-day Captain Otter-Barry has surveyed the political situation in Mongolia. The one thing which struck me most, perhaps, was the indication he gave of the great decadence of Mongolia in the comity of nations from the time when she ruled Asia and a part of Europe. We must remember that she played a very large part in history from times earlier than we can trace. Those valleys which we now know to be so fertile were the nursery of the human race; later it was from them that those terrible hordes of savages spread over Asia and part of Europe, which so seriously affected the destinies of nations. But now there is nothing left but some two million Mongols living in a poor country. We have been told this afternoon that at least one-half of Mongolia is fertile, and capable of profitable cultivation. This fact answers a question which has always puzzled geographers. How was it possible for such multitudes of people to be bred in an inhospitable country such as we thought Mongolia to be? The investigations of recent travellers like Captain Otter-Barry have shown that there is no great matter for astonishment, since so large a part of the country at least is capable of supporting a large population.

The point of the whole story presented to us to-day is the degree to which we are affected by Russia's relations with Mongolia. I confess, for my part, that I do not think it matters to us in the least whether Russia makes herself effective in Mongolia or not. If it matters at all it is in this negative way—namely, that if Russia is occupied thus in the Far East, she will have her attention turned from other parts of the Nearer East, where she might be much more troublesome. I am not acquainted with the Mongolian frontier, but I am well acquainted with the Afghan frontier. Although we know now what we did not know twenty or thirty years ago—*i.e.*, that there will be enormous difficulties in the way of any military advance toward India from the north—we have to recognize that there is still what may be described as an open door on the Persian frontier of Afghanistan. So long as Russian attention is turned away from that door, I think we have reason to congratulate ourselves. I was never myself an adherent of the creed of pessimists who thought there was great danger of Russia attempting to violate the Indian frontier. Her position may have been strengthened by the railways of which we have heard; but we have all known for a long time that no matter what preparation Russia may make, or however much she may improve her military position on the Afghan border, she is no longer able to walk into Afghanistan irrespective of our interference. Since the time she could have done so without much difficulty there has grown up a very fairly efficient Afghan army, and there is no doubt whatsoever that under any circumstances any violation of the northern frontier would be met by the Afghan army, supported by us. We must also consider the enormous development in the Far East in military matters.

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We know what has happened in Japan, but we do not know what is happening elsewhere to occupy the attention of Russia. I think that Captain Otter-Barry has given us a great deal to think about and much to thank him for. You will join me, I am sure, in a hearty vote of thanks to him for his interesting lecture and excellent illustrations.

Lord LAMINGTON: I should like to be permitted to say that Sir Thomas is such an authority on the Indian border and Afghanistan that what he says thereon merits the utmost respect, and I would not challenge his remarks as regards Russia's advance towards the Afghan border. But when he suggests that it is satisfactory that Russia's attention should be engaged elsewhere, thus diverting her from Afghanistan, you must remember that there is another portion of the East, the Nearest East, where Russian ambitions have been blocked by reason of the Balkan War and its consequences. The Balkan States have now acquired a much stronger position than was previously expected. If Russia has thus been thwarted, at all events for the present, respecting her hopes of getting to the Bosphorus, is it not more than likely that she will endeavour to make up for this by finding access to the open sea through the Persian Gulf, where our interests as to the safety of the Indian Empire are vitally concerned? That is one point at least that does require watching, and I feel strongly that this country should adhere to the axiom laid down on the subject by Lord Lansdowne some ten or eleven years ago that we could not regard with indifference any other European Power coming down to the Persian Gulf. It is most essential that we should safeguard our position there. As regards what Sir Thomas said about the Afghan army, I read only the other day—I think it was in the *Times*—that it was in a rather parlous state, that there is much discontent and disorder going on, and that the Ameer is in a rather critical position.

The CHAIRMAN said he was interested to hear what Lord Lamington had said. He did not think that so long as we held our own on the sea we need trouble ourselves about the Persian Gulf.

SIR ALFRED LYALL AND THE UNDERSTANDING WITH RUSSIA*

By SIR H. MORTIMER DURAND

THE CHAIRMAN said that, as they all knew, Sir Mortimer Durand had written an exceedingly interesting book on the life of Sir Alfred Lyall, his former chief and predecessor in the high post of Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. Sir Alfred's views on the Anglo-Russian Agreement were of special interest, because he was one of the first, if not indeed the first, to propose an agreement with the Russians in regard to Central Asia. It was, therefore, with very great pleasure that he asked Sir Mortimer to read his paper on the subject.

Some months ago, after the publication of my Memoir of Sir Alfred Lyall, I was asked by the Council of the Central Asian Society to read before the Society a paper upon Lyall and the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907.

I was rather doubtful about doing so, for, in the first place, the Memoir treats with considerable fulness Lyall's views on the subject, and, further, any attempt to discuss our present relations with our old rival in Asia is apt to lead one out upon rather dangerous ground. But Lyall was a very distinguished member of this Society, and a man for whom we all had a deep regard. As his former colleagues and friends wished me to revert to the subject, and as the special object of this Society is to study all that concerns the affairs of Central Asia, I did not feel that I could properly decline to meet their wishes.

Before I begin I would ask you to remember that the primary object of this paper is to show Lyall's views; and with this object I shall have to make a large part of the paper consist of extracts from his writings, and to read instead of talking, as I should prefer to do.

It is unnecessary for me to dilate upon the notorious fact that for something like a century—ever since the fall of Napoleon—England and Russia have faced one another in Asia with, to say the least of it, considerable jealousy. There was, indeed, considerable jealousy before that time—before the middle of the eighteenth century—when an English company tried to open up a trade with the northern provinces

* Read May 26, 1914.

of Persia through Russian territory. The Russians eventually put an end to this project, and one can hardly be surprised at their doing so considering that the company launched armed vessels on the Caspian, and that some of its people entered the service of the dreaded Persian conqueror, Nadir Shah. The Russians, who were then very weak in that part of the world, could not afford to see the Caspian turned into a Persian lake and the Caucasus taken in rear by Nadir's armies. In Europe Russia and England were on good terms, and had a tradition of common interests. This tradition was strengthened by the wars against Napoleon, but later it was strained by the divergence of their views about Turkey, and it never extended to Asia. Everyone in this room knows what the position has been there, and how as the two Powers advanced towards one another from East and West the friction between them became more and more acute. When, in 1854, the Turkish troubles resulted in the Crimean War, Russia was much weakened in Europe; but as regards Asia, the consequence was that she was set free to complete the subjugation of the Caucasus, and, that done, to set out upon her natural "slope" from the Caucasus eastward. Since then war between England and Russia has been avoided, but we have more than once been very near it, and until the Convention of 1907 was signed Russia and England were regarded by every Asiatic Power—perhaps by the world—as natural rivals in Asia, if not as natural enemies. The belief that sooner or later they must meet in a desperate struggle for the supremacy of the East was practically universal. That belief had a great influence upon the attitude of all the Asiatic Powers, and reacted strongly upon Europe. It is useless to inquire which of the two countries was mainly responsible for this state of affairs, but it existed, and was a perpetual danger to the peace, not only of Asia, but of the world.

Of course, the English in India were specially interested in the possibilities of a conflict with Russia. Few in number, among a vast population of Asiatics, with an army very small indeed for the tasks it had to perform, they naturally regarded with concern the steady approach towards the Indian frontiers of a great European military Power. So long as they had none but Asiatic States to deal with, they felt sure of their ability to hold their own; but they knew that the close proximity of such a State as Russia must add greatly to the difficulties of their position. Some of them, it is true, had no fears as to the ultimate issue. Relying upon the loyalty and fighting power of our Indian troops, and the fierce independence of the Afghans and mountain tribes, they faced without alarm the prospect of a Russian attack. This was my own view. In an *Edinburgh Review* article of 1897 I urged that Russia was not strong enough to attack us, and that we should do well to show more confidence in our own strength, which, so long as the people of India trusted us, was immense. Others were

less confident, and regarded the approach of Russia as a great danger to our Empire. But whatever might be the difference of opinion in this respect, almost all alike looked upon the Russians as likely to prove troublesome neighbours. The accepted view in India was that the farther we could keep them away from our frontiers the better for us. And this view was just as strongly held by English statesmen.

In 1877, when the war between Russia and Turkey broke out, Alfred Lyall was the Governor-General's Agent in Rajputana, and I was serving under him. To my surprise I found that his views on the subject differed widely from those generally held. The following is an extract from my Memoir :

"Almost everyone in India was strongly on the side of the Turks. Englishmen and Indians alike seemed practically unanimous on that point. I can well remember the interest with which the war telegrams used to be received. We had at Mount Abu 'vakils,' or representatives of the Native States, under Lyall's charge. These people used to come to me constantly to study a map on which I marked the progress of the opposing forces; and though they were almost all Hindus, their sympathy with the Turks was unmistakable. Lyall, with his experiences of the Mutiny and his wide range of thought, was decidedly for the Russians; and it was then that he first began to expound to me the doctrine that our proper policy in Asia was to come to an understanding with them. He fully recognized the fact that a sweeping Russian success in Asia Minor might 'overset the balance of all Asia, and may threaten our communications with India in more ways than one;' but he wished them such success as would break down the power of Turkey in Europe." The fact is that Lyall was not inclined to regard the Mussulman Powers with much sympathy. The occurrences of the Mutiny had convinced him that the Mussulmans had been at that time our bitterest enemies, and he never got over the feeling that, as a whole, Islam must be against us. No one could accuse him of religious bigotry, and his verses show that he did sympathize with the fighting spirit of the Moslem. Take, for example, the old "Pindari," the first poem which made him known :

"My father was an Afghan, and came from Kandahar ;
He rode with Nawab Amir Khan in the old Maratha war :
From the Dekhan to the Himalay, five hundred of one clan,
They asked no leave of prince or chief as they swept thro' Hindustan."

The whole poem breathes the same spirit, and many similar passages could be quoted from other pieces of his. Also, as time went on, he made many Mussulman friends. But as between the two great Indian faiths, the Mussulman and Hindu, his personal sympathy was with the second, which appealed to his meditative and subtle mind. Anyone who compares his two studies at Delhi, the "Hindu Ascetic" and "Badminton," cannot fail to see how he regarded the tendencies

of the two faiths. Moreover, setting aside any question of this kind, he regarded the Mussulman States in general as obstacles to civilization; and with all his keen soldierly feeling he hated the slaughter and cruelty which obtained among them. In an *Edinburgh Review* article of 1902, "England and Russia during the Nineteenth Century," he wrote: "No greater misfortune has ever befallen the European Continent than the occupation by Mohammedans of Constantinople, one of the finest positions in the world, commanding the best lines of communication between Europe and Asia—a position admirably adapted to be the centre, as it was for nearly a thousand years, of civilization and commerce, and which has, instead, become a fortress of barbarism, an extinguisher of light and natural life, the focus of unending discord, persecutions, and ferocious internal struggles of a kind that has long since disappeared elsewhere in the West."

In any conflict between the Turk and the Russian, therefore, Lyall inclined to the side of the Russian, and his sympathies had the same bent with regard to Russian conquests among the Khanates of Central Asia. It was a curious irony of fate which made him Foreign Secretary in India immediately after the Russo-Turkish War, and identified him with the steps taken by Beaconsfield's Turkophile Government. We had checked Russia at Constantinople; she struck back at us in Kabul; and from 1878 to 1880 Lyall was the chief adviser of Beaconsfield's Viceroy, Lord Lytton, in his efforts to repel Russian influence from Afghanistan.

Nevertheless, though Lyall did his best for British interests when Russia and England were committed to antagonistic action, his views and sympathies had not changed; and in 1881 he officially proposed that we should throw over the policy which we had followed for so many years—that of trying to keep Russia at a distance. As stated in my Memoir of Lyall I found the proposal among his papers. It was in an envelope which bore the following docket in his handwriting:

"Note of 1881 in regard to a treaty with Russia on the subject of the Afghan north-west boundary. This contains the original suggestion upon which the boundary was afterwards formally demarcated, and it also foreshadowed the policy of an agreement with Russia in Asiatic affairs. Lord Morley reprinted in (it?) in 1906 for the negotiations with Russia."

Now that matters have gone so much farther, it would serve no purpose to quote from this paper; but I may remark that Lord Morley expressly authorized me to refer to it as I did in the Memoir. He read Lyall's docket, and said I was quite free to publish it. You will see that Lyall claimed to have sowed the seed from which the new policy has sprung.

Now, I have no wish to claim for him anything more than he deserves. It may be said at once that there had been arrangements

with Russia before 1881, and that the question of an understanding with her as to the position of the two Powers in Central Asia had been more than once discussed. Even Lord Palmerston had observed that "when Russia and England come to an understanding the peace of Asia is assured." But the real point is this, that until 1881 the object on our part of any understanding had always been to prevent the contact of British and Russian possessions and protectorates in Central Asia. What Lyall advocated was, that instead of trying to get from Russia a formal agreement limiting her advance—which she would never give while faced by fluid uncivilized States or tribes—we should agree to her advance right up to the limit of the protectorate for which we were responsible, if on her side she agreed to a formal treaty binding her to abstain from all interference beyond that limit. He thought Russia might be inclined to agree to such a treaty, not so much because of any specific advantages she might hope to secure from it as because the treaty would strengthen her position in Central Asia by exhibiting our influence and power on her side instead of against her. It is to be remarked that although Russia had then made vast strides forward over the sparsely inhabited countries of Central Asia, she was still very weak there. Her military forces east of the Caspian were insignificant, and she had much difficulty in providing for them. We rightly believed that, if left to herself in Central Asia, she would one day become strong, but she was not strong then. She had met with little serious opposition except from climatic and geographical difficulties, and had not been forced to develop her military strength in that quarter of the world.

Lyall's proposal was not immediately followed up, and Russia soon made another move forward, as he had foreseen :

"From Merv, last home of the freelance, the clansmen were scattering far,
And the Turkoman horses were harnessed to the guns of the Russian Tsar."

She was still very weak in Central Asia, unable from all her scattered garrisons to put 50,000 men into the field, and she must remain so until her railways were pushed forward from north and west to join the two widely separated wings of her advance ; but her outposts were now not far from Afghanistan.

Then, in the winter of 1883-84, came the first step on our part towards a formal understanding with Russia. I have written about this in my Memoir of Lyall :

"He was deeply interested at this time in learning that his views regarding an understanding with Russia were bearing fruit.

"I see signs (he wrote) that the Foreign Offices of India and England have come round to the view which originated with me in 1881, when I strenuously recommended that instead of working against Russia in Central Asia, we should propose to demarcate by formal treaty the boundaries of Afghanistan, the treaty to be not with the

Afghans, but with the Russians. This view is put in my *Edinburgh* article.'

"As a matter of fact, the policy was on the point of being accepted and put into practice, for Colonel Ridgeway* and I were then in the Indian Foreign Office, and during the winter we had both arrived at the conclusion that an arrangement with Russia offered the best prospect of coming to a satisfactory settlement of the Afghan question. My own opinion was largely coloured by Lyall's systematic advocacy of this course of action; and so, perhaps, was the opinion of Lord Ripon, who accepted generally the views put forward by Colonel Ridgeway and supported by me. The result was the Afghan Boundary Commission of 1884-86, which, though it passed through some troublous times, and very nearly ended in war with Russia, eventually led to an agreement, and paved the way for a general understanding. The real difficulty at this time, and later—indeed, until the Japanese War—was not that the Government of India was averse from an understanding with Russia, but that the Russians, firmly believing 'the twentieth century was theirs,' were reluctant to tie their hands by any comprehensive engagements with us. And this was natural enough."

The following are quotations from the *Edinburgh Review* article of January, 1884, to which Lyall referred. After describing the position of Afghanistan between the two great Powers, he writes:

"Since every diplomatic arrangement with Afghan Princes has been made with very slight reliance on its intrinsic value or durability, but entirely in order that England might check Russia, or Russia annoy England, the result is a series of rather ludicrous attempts to treat the Amir as a civilized ruler of a modern Government. For over forty years we have been contracting treaties, engagements, and formal understandings with the ruling Amir, or with Persia or Russia over his head, we have guaranteed the Amir's frontiers, we have subsidized him, armed him, and twice we have fought him. . . . But not all the fighting, nor all the negotiations of the last forty-five years, has brought us one inch nearer to the solution of the problem of finding a *modus vivendi* for Afghanistan between Russia and England. Hitherto each move on either side has been wrong; the pieces have been simply replaced, and the two players are still sitting opposite to each other with Afghanistan as the chess-board between them.

"The end is not yet visible, though some potent conclusion cannot be far distant. . . . We may venture to predict that the only durable basis on which the peace and development of Central Asia, and the protection of our own north-west frontier, can be established, will be found in some formal and public convention with Russia in regard to the affairs of Afghanistan. A treaty with the Amir of Kabul is a delusion and a snare. . . . But a compact with Russia would bring

* Afterwards the Right Hon. Sir West Ridgeway, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I.

the whole settlement within the province of international law, and would render us independent of the fortunes or caprices of uncivilized governments. Meanwhile, it is no paradox to maintain that our position in India is not, after all, affected disadvantageously by the ambiguous manœuvres of the Russians in the Turcoman country and along the Oxus, or by the clouds that sometimes gather with obscure menace beyond the horizon of our north-west frontier. All Upper India still looks, instinctively and traditionally, to the Afghan passes as the roads which bring fresh armies into India, to upset dynasties, and to throw the whole country into confusion. Whether the leader be Mongol or Russian is of small concern; the rumours of foreign invasion from Central Asia perplex with chronic fear of change the people who inhabit the great northern plains; and, therefore, the reputation of being able and ready to hold the gates of India against all comers furnishes an argument in favour of the English Government that far outweighs a multitude of minor shortcomings. Nor, indeed, is there anything new in the fact that apprehensions of external danger may rather strengthen than shake the position of a skilful and resolute administration."

These last words afford a good example of Lyall's confidence and knowledge of India. They were published in January, 1884. The following year saw the Amir Abdurrahman at Rawal Pindi conferring with Lord Dufferin, while the Anglo-Russian Commission was at work on the northern frontier of his kingdom. During his visit occurred the Penjdeh incident, when a Russian force attacked and dispersed a body of Afghan troops which was said to be outside Afghan limits. It was rather rough diplomacy, and very nearly led to war between Russia and England, but the immediate result was to evoke a remarkable outburst of loyalty in India. The Indian Chiefs offered contingents to serve against Russia; the Indian Press, which had of late been showing a captious spirit, suddenly changed its tone, and the position of the Indian Government was shown to be very strong. It was an excellent lesson for all concerned.

The whole story will be found by anyone who cares to read it in my Memoir of Lyall. It ended, thanks to the able negotiations of Sir West Ridgeway, in the formal agreement between Russia and England to which I have referred above. A portion of the Afghan frontier, from the Hari Rud to the Oxus, was then laid down. It has since been respected by Russia, and I believe no trouble has ever arisen about it.

I will not attempt to quote all the passages in Lyall's numerous review articles, subsequent to this agreement, which deal with the relations between Russia and England; but it may be stated that for the next twenty years, and more, his efforts were directed towards deprecating suspicion and unfair judgments on the part of Englishmen,

and in advising a more confident reliance on our own strength. "English rule," he wrote, "has made India the most powerful State in Asia," and he would never admit that if we continued to rule with justice and resolution we had anything to fear either from internal agitation or from external attack.

As to Russia, an *Edinburgh Review* article of January 7, 1890, upon Curzon's "Russia in Central Asia" is a good example of Lyall's line of thought. Curzon had written strongly about the danger to us involved in the Russian railway extensions, and had contrasted in pointed terms our inaction with the Russian achievements generally. "I am showing that while English statesmen have chattered in Parliament, or poured gallons of ink over reams of paper in diplomatic futilities at the Foreign Office, Russia, our only admitted rival in the East, has gone continuously and surely to work, proceeding by the three successive stages of conquest, assimilation, and consolidation, and that at this moment, whether her strength be estimated by topographical or by numerical considerations, she occupies, for offensive purposes, in Central Asia a position immeasurably superior to that of England, and for defensive purposes one practically impregnable."

Lyall demurred, pointing out how much we had done ourselves of late, not only in railway construction, but also in annexing and consolidating great territories. He fully admitted that the Russian approach towards India was a serious matter for us, but he would not admit that it was a matter to cause us alarm, or that we had any great cause of complaint at her proceedings. "England," he wrote, "has been so long accustomed, in Europe and in Asia, to isolation and immunity from invasion, that the sight of a neighbour laying out military railways towards her land frontier, taking up points of vantage, sketching plans of campaign, and generally preparing to support a political prospectus by military demonstrations, rouses her to wrath and alarm. And yet, as Mr. Curzon points out, the progress of Russian annexation eastward was not only natural but unavoidable; she was carried onward by her own momentum, until she brought up against the breakwaters presented by China and Afghanistan; nor can she be blamed for utilizing her new position in Asia to support her machinations in South-Eastern Europe. . . . When, therefore, the English treat Russia's movements and military dispositions as a direct menace, when they impugn her diplomatic proceedings as tainted with intrigue and bad faith, they are apt to forget that she is at most doing no more than every great European Government has done, and is indeed doing, in like circumstances, and that it is the novelty of the system in its application to England that makes it so exceedingly distasteful to ourselves."

Curzon had described and condemned the behaviour of Russia in 1878, when she marched troops towards the Afghan border, and

sent a mission to Kabul. Lyall again demurred. "This view of the case is, however, too exclusively English. The Russians would answer that England has twice in a generation stepped in to thwart, by war or armed intervention, their vital interests, and was in 1878 throwing her weight in the scale against Russia at the Berlin Congress. A nation that plays at bowls in this fashion must expect rubbers; nor would the highest Continental authorities upon the game admit, we fancy, that Russia's feint upon Afghanistan (which entirely failed) was in any respect unwarranted by the rules of high political duello."

For the rest Lyall had no illusions as to the necessity of being thoroughly strong from a military point of view. "England in Asia, like her neighbours in Europe, is now lying side by side with a powerful state of equal magnitude, which may be friendly or hostile according as a collision of interests can or cannot be avoided by dexterous steering. We are fairly forewarned of the course upon which collision is most probable, and upon those very plain indications we have to calculate in handling our ship. The English nation must understand that in this situation there is nothing abnormal or astonishing, that it demands not panic but precaution, and that to show indignation at veiled threats, or to stand aghast at duplicity, is to betray an inexcusable unfamiliarity with the manners and methods of Cabinets in dealing with the vast issues of modern politics. But we must also remember that to adopt beforehand every possible safeguard, and to be always ready for war, is by no means the same thing as assuming war to be inevitable."

Lyall, indeed, went so far as to doubt whether we could indefinitely keep the two railway systems apart.

"The overland route between Europe and India is manifestly destined to be some day one of the chief highways of the world. . . . And although we quite admit that, in the singular position of our Anglo-Indian Empire, the proximity of a powerful and heavily armed neighbour involves military and political considerations of peculiar gravity, yet we must nevertheless observe that nowhere in the civilized world—even among jealous and almost hostile States, have strategical reasons been held to be so imperative as to prevent the junction of the main railway lines between two Continental countries."

Again, in 1895, when writing about the war between China and Japan, and the proposals for a joint mediation of the European Powers, which were declined by Russia and France, Lyall returned to his old argument:

"It is due to the memory of the late Tsar, Alexander III., to record the fact that his attitude and policy towards this country were not only not adverse, but friendly, pacific, and straightforward in the course of these transactions. The result has happily been a material

improvement in our relations with Russia. . . . Nothing can tend more to the maintenance of peace, both in Asia and in Europe, than a good understanding between the two great European Powers that rule the north and south of Asia. They have many interests in common—interests far more important than the questions that divide them.”

In 1902 appeared a very valuable article from Lyall's pen on “England and Russia during the Nineteenth Century.” It is a thoughtful piece of historical writing which well repays study. He might have gone farther back with advantage to his argument, but perhaps he goes far enough. After tracing the reciprocal history of the two Powers from the beginning of the century until the Crimean War, in 1854, he observes that the war effectually crippled for twenty years the resources of Russia for vigorous aggression in Europe and Asia. “But,” he says, “against this must be set the disadvantage that the alliance between England and Russia, or at least the tradition of common interests, which began with the coalitions against the first French Empire, and was mutually recognized as a policy for fifty years, was broken down in 1854, and has never since been cordially revived. From this war may be dated, we believe, the feeling of distrust, the propensity to condemn off-hand and indiscriminately the motives and movements of Russia, that have more than once disturbed the calm judgment of the English nation at times when the fair and dispassionate consideration of a dispute on both sides of it might have adjusted some acrimonious controversy.”

Lyall agreed that even as long ago as 1815 the policy of Russia had been “a determination to make the threat, if not the accomplishment, of an invasion of India a part of every future quarrel with Great Britain.” He said the policy had since been once or twice distinctly affirmed. But, as before shown, he declined to see that it was in any way illegitimate. Speaking of Persia and our interests there, he says:

“Russia might use a paramount influence at Tehran to assume exclusive charge of the future railway-lines across Persia to the sea; she might acquire control of the State's Customs, and might establish a naval station on the Persian Gulf that would interfere with our interests in those waters, and might even flank inconveniently our maritime communications with India. She might insist on territorial cessions or privileges in Eastern Persia that would bring her down on the western frontier of Afghanistan, and place her where she might some day turn the great quadrilateral of mountains in the Afghan midlands by a march across the open country lying between Seistan and Kandahar. We do not believe that such a distinctly hostile demonstration would ever be made by Russia wantonly, or except under what she might hold to be adequate provocation on our part; yet we have already shown that the idea of so disposing her forces in Asia that she might be ready to alarm and preoccupy England at

some critical conjuncture, in Europe or elsewhere, has long been conceived by Russian statesmen and soldiers. Nor, indeed, could a rival, whose path towards Constantinople we have crossed twice in the last fifty years, be expected to overlook such an obvious manœuvre on the field of political strategy."

Then he goes on to speak of Afghanistan, to draw a parallel between it and Turkey, and to refer to possible difficulties being raised by Russia. His article closes with a passage on the old lines:

"In political settlements everywhere there is no finality, and in the climate of Asia they are apt to be particularly short-lived; nor is it a matter of surprise that awkward points have a tendency to reappear. Yet it is greatly to the interests of both European Governments that a friendly attitude should be preserved in regard to the Afghan frontier, for the tranquillity of all Asia depends upon a good understanding between England and Russia at its centre."

But the opportunity for a general understanding had not come. Russia was not ready for it. When I went to Persia as British Minister some years before, I hoped that there might be a possibility of coming to some agreement, but I soon saw that the hope was vain. Even before my arrival in Tehran I had a rather significant warning on the subject. The Russian Minister and I had some friends in common, and, unknown to me, one of them wrote to him about me. I was shown his answer, which was not only civil but cordial. Yet it contained the words: "I am very glad to think that the antagonism of the policies of which we are the representatives will not transport itself upon the personal terrain." That the policies could be other than antagonistic had never apparently occurred to him, or he wished to give me an intimation beforehand that any attempt at a rapprochement would be useless. In 1907, when the Convention had been signed, we had the authority of two men who had special opportunities of knowing the truth for believing that the delay in coming to an understanding was not the fault of England. Lord Sanderson, who had spent his life in the Foreign Office, said in the House of Lords "I do not think that at any time the fault has been with the Government here. The difficulty has been at St. Petersburg, where the dominant political party has been unwilling to fetter itself by positive engagements except on terms that would have been unacceptable to us." They thought, Lord Sanderson said, that "they had something to gain, and at all events nothing to lose, by delay." "It is only recently that there has been a change in this respect." And Lord Lansdowne said: "Although we were willing, the Government of Russia apparently were by no means prepared to come to terms with us" . . . "until lately we know that she kept us at arm's length."

The real difficulty, as I have pointed out elsewhere—in my Memoir of Lyall—was that up to 1904 the Russians believed "the twentieth

century was theirs," and the statesmen who wished for a settlement were overborne by the military party.

Then came the war between Russia and Japan, and the startling succession of Japanese victories by land and sea. To most Englishmen these were a relief. It was felt that the Russians would for some time to come be powerless to threaten India. Lyall stuck to his old views. I have referred to the matter in the Memoir. He delivered an address in this room, leaning to the side of Russia rather than Japan, and urging that the triumph of the Japanese boded ill in the long run to European dominion in Asia. When a few months later the Russians fired upon our fishing fleet in the North Sea, Lyall commented upon "the incredible rashness" of the Russian Admiral, and said it was "quite impossible to admit the pretensions of the Russian naval commanders"; but he earnestly hoped for a pacific solution, and was greatly relieved when it came about. "The English did well to be angry," he wrote, "yet our Ministers did better to avoid war." Nor did he ever change his views about the Russo-Japanese conflict. He wrote to a French friend in the following year: "In England I am in a small minority of those who believe that unqualified rejoicing over Japanese victories is a proof of little wisdom or foresight. . . . But I should not expect the yellow races to break out westward unless the European Governments in Asia go on weakening themselves on that continent by internal quarrels. A really good understanding between England and Russia on Asiatic affairs ought to raise a powerful barrier against any such encroachments, but such a league is just now far distant."

In the year 1906 Lyall contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* an article examining the political situation in Asia by the light of recent developments. This is a paper full of knowledge and thought. It should even now, eight years after its appearance, be read by everyone who takes an interest in Central Asian affairs. Lyall showed how wide and rapid had been the extension of European dominion outside Europe, and how for the last twenty years the arena of combat, the focus of burning questions which kindle war, had been transferred to Asia and Africa. He also pointed out that of late the Asiatic peoples had been waking up and increasing their military strength, with grave consequences affecting all foreign dominion over countries lying outside the pale of Western civilization.

"While the European Governments have been quarrelling among themselves over partitions of territory, spheres of influence, and trade facilities in Asia and Africa, some of the stronger native States have been taking lessons from them in the art of war, and even the independent tribes are everywhere exchanging their matchlocks for rifles. In fighting qualities the men of the best Asiatic and African races are very little inferior to the European soldiers; in numbers they have

always been superior in the field; so that, with equal arms, they are becoming formidable enemies."

For a notable example of the changed conditions he compared the English Expedition to Magdala in 1868 with the Italian campaign against Menelek in 1896.

"And the culmination of this change in the relative military strength of Eastern and Western nations is illustrated by the recent reverses of Russia in Manchuria. In the art and practice of modern warfare the two combatants, Asiatic and European, were here at last found to be equal. The experiences of that war mark an epoch in history, portending unforeseen, momentous, and far-reaching consequences. In the first year of the present century a competent observer of the tendency of affairs in Asia might have been justified in believing that Russia and England held the future destinies of the Continent almost entirely in their own hands. He might have predicted that these two mighty nations would sooner or later come into violent conflict, which would determine the destiny of surrounding kingdoms, and that from West to the Far East the spread of European dominion would be thenceforward irresistible. No one can now venture on any such presumptuous forecast, since one of the strongest military Powers in the West has met its match in the farthest East, not only on land, but on the sea. The naval victories of Japan are unprecedented in the long annals of the interminable warfare between East and West. Land battles have been won and lost on either side, but from the days of Salamis to the days of Lepanto and Navarino, the Asiatic has invariably gone down before the European in a great sea-fight. The sudden appearance of Japan as a formidable wielder of sea-power is, therefore, a strange and portentous phenomenon, and the watcher of the political horizon may well feel, to quote the metaphor of a famous poet, like an astronomer 'when some new planet swims into his ken,' and may stare at the Pacific like Cortez, 'silent upon a peak in Darien.'"

Lyall speaks of the awakening of China, and its possible consequences to European nations, and he goes on as follows:

"There can be little doubt, at any rate, that the superiority in the art and appliances of war, by which Europeans have won their dominion in Asia, is on the wane; the armies of Eastern and Western States will henceforth meet on even terms in this respect; the era of facile victories is closing."

Turning to the Anglo-Japanese alliance and its effect upon the position of England and Russia, he says it is "undoubtedly a brilliant stroke of high diplomacy, which has turned the balance of military power very much in our favour. Above all, the alliance makes for peace in Asia; it has greatly reduced the possibilities of war, and peace is what England has always desired, while at this moment it is hard to believe that any other policy can possibly be contemplated by Russia."

This brings him back to his old point: "The question arises . . . whether the opportunity cannot be used for endeavouring to find some practical solution of a problem which in one way or another affects the interests of every Asiatic kingdom, from Constantinople to Peking, and has an indirect bearing upon international relations in Europe. For no one can have failed to perceive that the recent depression of Russia has disturbed the equipoise of the great European Powers."

He shows the great importance to France and to England of the controlling power exercised by Russia in Europe over the spirit of restless militarism, and points out that "Russia and England cannot be perpetually manœuvring against each other in Asia if they desire to act together in Europe."

"And," he proceeds, "it is time to make a stand against the fixed idea, which has been too prevalent in the minds of those who speculate upon the outcome of the existing situation in the East, that the inevitable issue must be some decisive trial of strength between these two great empires in the region which lies between their Asiatic frontiers. Those who contemplate such an eventuality, and who authoritatively insist that we must deliberately prepare for it, have not taken into account the dislocation of all relations and interests in Europe which must surely be the result of such a collision, the perils which are inseparable from the chances of war, and the very doubtful gain that could accrue to the winner. They do not reflect that the reverberation of such a conflict would shake the whole Mohammedan world, would stir up subject races on both sides, and that the spectacle of fierce Mohammedan soldiery set against each other by Christian commanders could be neither edifying nor particularly salutary."

Lyall then describes the effect produced by the present relations between Russia and England upon the Asiatic countries which intervene between the two Empires—"the chess-board upon which the game for ascendancy is being played"—upon Tibet and Persia and Afghanistan. The description is too long to quote now, but it is instructive, and it leads him to his invariable argument, that for all sakes England and Russia should come to a settlement of their differences. He closes it by pointing to the good already effected by the partial settlement of 1886. Afghanistan, he says, has been comparatively quiet and prosperous for twenty-five years.

"This period, unprecedented in the annals of Afghan tumult and bloodshed, of internal order and external security, is due, first, to the protection and aid rendered to two successive Amirs by the British Government. But it may be ascribed, in a scarcely less degree, to the delimitation of their frontiers, with the consent and co-operation of Russia, ratified by a public convention which the Russians have since observed in good faith, although the wild ways of Afghans on a rough borderland have occasionally tired their patience.

"This convention, in fact, initiated a change in the character of the relations between Russia and England in Central Asia; they had hitherto been contentious, they now became for the first time conciliatory. Our earlier practice had been to object and remonstrate against each successive stride, which brought the Russian conquests across the desert lands from the Caspian to the Oxus, to accept with incredulity reassuring explanations, and to protest when they were falsified by events. . . . At last the British Government resolved to try a change of method in their policy. The Russians had persistently evaded any engagement that would have bound them to stop short in their advance, leaving a vacant interspace between their own annexations and the Afghan border; a kind of no-man's-land, where no one could be responsible for disorders. So we offered to acquiesce in and recognize what we had previously been attempting to hinder, to agree that Russia's occupation might extend up to the Afghan line, on the condition that this line should be demarcated by a joint commission, and that Russia should sign a written convention to abide by it. The arrangement was made with the Amir's consent, though he was not one of the signatories. The parties to the contract were two civilized Governments, answerable for any breach of it before the public opinion of Europe.

"We have laid some stress upon this transaction, because we suggest that it may be taken as an example and indication of the only policy which, if it can be pursued, may relieve the strain and friction which have so long embarrassed our relations with Russia in Central Asia. We are by no means concerned to rely upon verbal asseverations or to defend the diplomatic expedient to which Prince Gortschakoff and Prince Bismarck have occasionally resorted. When the stakes are high, such players will not show their hands at a critical moment; the rules of their game permit them to mislead an adversary. But international engagements belong to another category, nor can it be alleged that Russia has not usually observed them, or that her behaviour towards England has been invariably unfriendly, or that she has habitually availed herself of opportunities for embarrassing us in Asia." . . .

Lyall then quotes a speech by Sir Robert Peel about the strict good faith and friendly feeling shown by Russia during the first Afghan War, and goes on:

"It may be admitted that since 1842 much has happened, and that the approximation of the two Empires in Asia has operated to increase the tension of our reciprocal relations. Russia has made no secret of her intention to use the position which she holds on the Afghan frontier as a means of counteracting any adverse pressure we might bring to bear upon her policy in other directions, and we are forewarned against a manœuvre that would in certain contingencies not be altogether illegitimate. This is one symptom, perhaps the most acute, of the

present anomalous complexion of affairs, which fosters a veiled hostility in Asia between two Governments, whose interests undoubtedly point toward amity and concordant views in Europe."

Lyall supports his conclusions by a reference to the views of some recent Continental writers, citing the well-known Vambéry, as also a Russian and a Frenchman, who all agree that Russia and England have before them an opportunity which may be used to their mutual advantage, and for the benefit of the Asiatic countries under their influence. Vambéry, whose political prepossessions were always antipathetic to Russia, says that the two Empires have undertaken quite as much as they can manage in Asia, and that their dominions require relief from the heavy burden imposed by alarms and rumours of impending war. The present state of things, he says, can only be changed if the two Powers work together in peace and unity. The French writer, M. Ronire, points to the possibility of an entente between Russia and England, and the Russian even advocates an alliance. Lyall closes his article as follows :

"For ourselves, we are disposed to welcome a discussion which will bring into prominence the striking consequences that have ensued from the rapid expansion of European dominion into Asia and Africa, because we doubt whether they have yet been generally realized. The result has been to complicate and entangle the politics of both Continents, so that the Western Powers are closely concerned with the fortunes of the Far East; and in Central Asia Kabul has to be protected from London. The European nations who have acquired great possessions in distant lands are under the necessity of maintaining great armies to guard their frontiers against each other, as well as to uphold their Empires among alien races by an exhibition of superior strength. . . . All these interests and responsibilities engender irritation and disputes, which react upon international relations at home. On the other hand, the prediction . . . that the populous kingdoms of the Far East would take their military lessons from Europe, and would mobilize their multitudes for self-defence, if not for aggression, appears likely to be fulfilled. . . . We are quite aware that no immediate solution of these far-reaching problems is to be expected; that sanguine anticipations may defeat their objects, and that the views and suggestions we have ventured to indicate must not be pressed prematurely. Nevertheless . . . we have endeavoured to lay before our readers, however inadequately, the outlines and salient points of a situation which is affecting the peace and prosperity of at least half the world."

But an attempt at a solution on the lines he had indicated was nearer than he supposed, for little more than a year later was signed the Anglo-Russian Convention, of which so much has been heard ever since. As the principle of the Convention, a friendly understanding

with Russia, was one which he had so long advocated, Lyall received the news with great satisfaction, and he was not disposed to attach much importance to the objections which were brought against some of the terms of settlement—notably the partition of Persia into spheres, and very unequal spheres, of Russian and English influence. He thoroughly recognized the fact that no such Convention would make it safe for us to relax our attitude of vigilance and military readiness in India; but taking it as an honest attempt on both sides to make an end of the old antagonism in Asia, and to maintain the balance of power in Europe, he cordially approved of it.

You will have seen that so far I have not attempted to discuss the merits of the question. What I have tried to make clear to you is that for something like thirty years Lyall had worked, both officially and in a large number of published review articles, for the principle of an understanding with Russia. What share his arguments had in bringing about the understanding no one can say, except that they certainly had a material share in bringing about the Afghan Boundary Commission of 1884-86, and the frontier agreement, which in his own words "initiated a change in the character of the relations between England and Russia in Central Asia." It may be said also, without fear of serious contradiction, that Lyall was throughout the most consistent advocate of an understanding, and that his writings give the best exposition that has ever been given of the political situation in Asia from the point of view of the school, if indeed there was a school, which aimed at a friendly settlement of the differences between England and Russia. Whether the Convention is a sound attempt to solve the difficulties of the position, whether it is succeeding, and will succeed, in effecting its object, are separate questions upon which there are great divergences of opinion. But it can do nothing but good to study the views on the whole subject of a man who brought to bear upon it such exceptional experience of the East, and a mind of such exceptional calibre. That was, I understand, the main object of the Council in asking me to read this paper. Lyall himself, to quote the last *Edinburgh Review* article he ever wrote, just before his death, regarded the Convention as "a significant intimation that, after long diplomatic fencing and military manœuvring on either side," Russia and England had "at last made the discovery that their true interests lie in a mutual understanding." And in that fact he rejoiced.

I might, perhaps, stop here, and not trouble you with any remarks of my own upon the subject; but there are one or two things I should like to say. I shall not trouble you long.

I wrote in my Memoir of Lyall, about his views on the Convention: "In principle he was doubtless right. An understanding with Russia, on equal terms, carried out with good faith and self-respect on both sides, cannot fail to be of great advantage." And in an *Edinburgh*

Review article written ten years earlier I said: "We should do well also to show less distrust of the intentions of the Russians. It is seventy years now since Russia has made any serious encroachment on the frontiers of Persia, and this is a fact worth remembering when we are considering the probability of her violating the frontiers of Afghanistan." It seems to me that to show distrust is to invite and almost to justify disloyalty. I do not know why, but we English are much too prone to impute bad faith. If anyone here doubts this, I would ask him to turn to our party politics. Is it not the case that we are divided into two sections, and that each section habitually accuses the other of bad faith? Are not the words "lie," "liar," in habitual use in the mouths of Englishmen speaking of other Englishmen? To anyone who has spent his life in countries where an Englishman's word is a power, this habit is one of the most striking and unpleasant things in our national life. And what we do to each other we do to foreign nations—often with little more reason. And they do not like it.

Having said this, I hope it will be understood that in the remarks I am about to make nothing is farther from my desire than to impugn Russian good faith. An understanding between England and Russia is a logical carrying out of Lord Lansdowne's wise policy in abandoning the attitude of "splendid isolation" and drawing nearer to France. I earnestly hope that it will long continue, and that time will prove the Convention to have been an entire success. To make it a success we must accept it in the spirit in which he accepted it. "I am ready," he said in the House of Lords, "to trust Russia to observe this agreement in a spirit of absolute loyalty." We do not set to work to ruin our understanding with France by throwing doubts on her willingness to abide by her agreements. We must not do it to Russia.

But it seems to me, nevertheless, that there are two points which should be steadily borne in mind. These are, first, that in all good faith each party to an agreement may be inclined at times to interpret his own rights under it more liberally than is altogether in accordance with the interests of the other; and, secondly, that the Convention does not materially alter the necessities of our military position in India.

As to the first point, if our Government when making the agreement showed insufficient firmness in "holding up our end," they are likely to show the same tendency in carrying it out, and their action in the matter may be worth considering—even now.

In the debate on the Convention, Lord Curzon pointed out that their action involved a considerable draft on our confidence—"a claim that we who know nothing of the negotiations, or the degree of valour with which the Government backed up British interests, are bound to accept whatever terms they submit to this country, on the simple assurance that the result will be more harmonious relations between

some other great Power and ourselves." Lord Curzon had, perhaps, some ground for his implied doubt. Most of us who have represented our country abroad have been tempted at times to think that our Governments, in some of their dealings with Russia and other countries—America, for example—had, to use Falstaff's immortal simile, shown no more valour than a wild duck. In any case, Lord Curzon and other critics had little difficulty in showing that, so far as the specific terms of the agreement were concerned, we seemed to have made a very bad bargain. Now, Russia was, of course, perfectly justified in securing for herself the best bargain possible. It was the right and duty of her Government to get for her all they could. But it was the right and duty of our Government to get for us all they could, and it seems difficult to feel confident that they did so. To take two points out of many. The Russians were to have in Afghanistan any trade facilities the Amir might give us, but there was no clause securing to us any facilities he might give the Russians. Also, we promised Russia equal commercial opportunities in that country where our influence predominated, but she did not promise us equal opportunities in regions where she was predominant. As Lord Lansdowne observed: "A more one-sided application of a sound principle I never came across." Much more might be said about Afghanistan and Tibet.

Now look at Persia. This is a point upon which, at the time, I felt strongly, in part because Lord Crewe, as the spokesman for the Government in the House of Lords, made me responsible for having recommended the arrangement to which the Government had arrived. I feel sure this was a wholly unintentional misrepresentation, and in any case the matter was of no importance to anyone but myself. But let us consider the arrangement. I have marked on the map three lines which show the position clearly. Take first the red line drawn right across Persia from the Turkish Frontier to Afghanistan. Seven or eight years before the Convention was signed our trade and our influence were paramount and almost exclusive up to that line, and we had considerable influence and trade to the north of it. I had then been five years in Persia studying the question, and I drew that line as showing the facts existing in 1899. I also made proposals for safeguarding and, if possible, improving our position all over Persia. You will observe that the line included the important centres of Kerman-shah, Hamadan, Ispahan, and Yezd. I did not propose the division of Persia into spheres of influence bounded by that line or by any other. The line showed the limit up to which our influence and trade were paramount and almost exclusive. Beyond it to the north Russian influence was strong, and in parts Russian trade was gaining ground; but our influence was still great, and our trade by no means excluded. We had Consulates right up to the Russian border—at Tabriz and Resht and Meshed. Russia had only just begun to touch the fringe

of the southern zone at Ispahan and about Seistan. The southern zone was, in fact, very much more in our hands, politically and commercially, than the northern zone was in Russian hands. Now it is, I believe, the case that in the period between 1900 and 1907—though this was the period during which occurred the Russo-Japanese War—Russia improved to some extent her position in Persia. But I find it difficult to believe that she improved it to such a degree as to justify the bargain then struck with her. What was that bargain? Our Government took what Lord Crewe called the Durand line—which, I repeat, was not proposed by me as a proper line of division between British and Russian spheres of influence—and they made it the southern limit of their Russian sphere. Not only this, but they drew it to the south instead of the north of the important centres which I had indicated as lying within our paramount and almost exclusive influence, thus surrendering, so to speak, the bastions which made the strength of the line. Not content with that, they made neutral territory of the bulk of the country to the south of the line, where British influence had for generations been paramount and almost exclusive, and they restricted our sphere to the south-east corner of Persia. It is true that they did not bring the Russian sphere down to Seistan (nor had I), but deflected the line upwards in North-Western Persia, so as to exclude from the Russian sphere a considerable piece of country, mostly desert. This, however, as you will see, was small compensation for the sacrifices made elsewhere.

The arrangement was defended on strategical grounds, and it is believed that the Government acted on the advice of Lord Kitchener. If so, there was no doubt much to be said for the arrangement from the strategical point of view. But the sacrifice in other respects was great.

As some of you may remember, I disclaimed at the time the responsibility for recommendations which I had not made, saying that my object was not to criticize the Convention as a whole, but that as regards Persia I had advocated no such arrangement, and that as an isolated proposal it would have been indefensible.

I mention the incident again now mainly to emphasize the fact that the country would do well to watch the arrangements made on her behalf, and to take care that with reference to railway-lines and other matters of importance, British interests are not sacrificed to the laudable desire of being conciliatory and generous in the interpretation of the Convention. It looks as if in negotiating the Convention our Government had been so anxious to get an agreement that they were ready to accept almost any terms—and that is rather a dangerous way of looking at the question. Besides our material interests we have to think of our reputation in Asia, especially in India and among the Mussulman Powers which stretch from the Punjab to the Bosphorus. It is, possibly, going too far to say, as Lord Ronaldshay said in the

debate on the Convention, that we "govern India almost exclusively by prestige." Still, prestige is of great value in the East, and indeed anywhere. It is easy to scoff at the word, but to do so shows a want of acquaintance with practical affairs. Prestige is to international politics what credit is to business. Again, we have to remember our obligations to the Mohammedan Powers and our interest in their goodwill. We should be very careful to do nothing which seems to them unjust or unfriendly if we can possibly avoid it, even when they may seem to us unreasonable. It has always seemed to me that Lyall's prepossessions made him inclined to attach less importance to that consideration than it deserved.

The situation in Southern Persia, and in Persia generally, is disquieting, and deserves special attention. The position is a difficult one, for, even assuming that we have the right to protect British interests in that country by sending a British force sufficient to restore and maintain order, it is not easy to see where the force is to be found without inconvenience. I notice in the Central Asian Society's JOURNAL a letter by Colonel A. C. Yate on this subject, in which he takes exception to a statement on the part of Lord Hardinge that the Government of India would always be firmly opposed to the despatch of a British expedition. Lord Hardinge may be too confident as to the future views of the Indian Government, but it must be remembered that, though we have obligations towards Persia and many ties with her—ties which, if reports now current are true, may be of vast importance to us in the near future—yet our first Asiatic interest is our Indian Empire, and to that everything else must be subordinate. The occupation of Southern Persia by British troops might involve a very serious development of military strength, and put a considerable strain on our Indian army. Nothing could be worse than sending an insufficient force, as we did before, and a sufficient force will be a large force. Nor can we assume that the occupation would be temporary. All experience points the other way. Considering all the possible eventualities involved, I feel that our Government will do well to be very cautious in committing the country to such a move. The supply of British bayonets is limited.

This brings me to the second of the points which I mentioned above—that the Convention does not materially alter the necessity of our military position in India. No convention with Russia or any other Power can do so. If conventions come to be regarded as a substitute for armed strength, then they are worse than useless. This is no fanciful apprehension. When the alliance with Japan was concluded, there was some unwise and undignified talk about the defence of our north-west frontier by the aid of Japanese troops. And in the debates on the Convention of 1907, while Lord Curzon protested against any reduction of our Indian military expenditure, more than

one Member of Parliament rose to advocate it on the express ground that the Convention had now averted the danger of a Russian invasion. Holding the gates of India is our business. The idea of calling in our allies to do it for us is dishonouring to ourselves and to the loyalty and courage of our Indian soldiery. Nor is it any mark of distrust in the good faith or goodwill of Russia to say that any reduction of our Indian army because of our Convention with her would be wholly indefensible. The gods have a way of shaking at intervals the political kaleidoscope in Europe and bringing out novel combinations. It is conceivable that, without any fault on the part of Russia, our interests and hers may some day again come into conflict. In that case we must expect trouble in India. Surely we should never rely for the safety of our own shores upon anything but our naval strength. No conventions with the naval Powers of Europe would make us do that. A sufficient army is as necessary to India as a sufficient fleet is to England. Russia is not weaker in Asia now than she was before the beginning of the century. She is far stronger. Although she failed in the colossal task of subduing on the far side of Asia a nation of more than forty millions of men fighting for its existence at its own doors, the campaigns in Manchuria were an extraordinary revelation of her resources and fighting power. And excluding altogether from consideration the possibility of hostilities with Russia, there are many other contingencies to be faced. It is not inconceivable that Russian and British troops may be found some day standing together against a common enemy in Asia. In any case, such contingencies as that to which I have referred—the troubles in Persia—show how necessary it is that India should be strong. On all accounts, conventions or no conventions, the maintenance of our military strength in India is just as clear a necessity as the maintenance of our naval strength in Europe.

For the rest, it is perhaps too early yet to say that the Anglo-Russian Convention has proved a success. It is certainly too early to say that it has proved a failure. Our duty, I submit, is to hope that it will be completely successful, and to do everything in our power to make it so.

The CHAIRMAN: I think we must all thank Sir Mortimer for having given us such a clear and impressive exposition of the views of that very talented Indian administrator, Sir Alfred Lyall. It is not often we have the chance of knowing what is in the minds of great Anglo-Indian officials. Indeed, it is usually the case that the views of those who know India best are least known in England. But we have had to-day a complete account of the views of Sir Alfred Lyall on the important subject which he had so much at heart—that of an agreement with Russia. It is particularly interesting to find that so far back as 1881 he had formed the intention of pressing with all his great

ability this idea of an understanding with Russia. With what has been said as to the reasons for Russia's advance in Central Asia, as set forth by Sir Alfred Lyall, I am myself in very cordial agreement. I have met many Russian officers in Central Asia who spoke quite plainly of invading us in India ; but I doubt very much whether this was ever the deliberate intention of the Russian Government. It has always seemed to me that the Russians were forced southwards very much as we were forced northwards through India to the Himalayas. When a great civilized Power finds on its borders disorderly tribes and uncivilized States, it is an exceedingly difficult thing for that Power to keep still, and it is more particularly difficult to do so when on the other side there is a strong rival Power which may advance and will probably take some action in regard to those States and tribes if it does not take action itself. For that reason I think it was a perfectly natural operation on the part of the Russians that they should year by year be impelled farther and farther southward toward India, just as much as we were impelled toward the Afghan frontier and the Pamirs in Central Asia. I think, therefore, that, as Sir Mortimer Durand has pointed out, it was unwise of us to impute any bad faith to the Russians when they did advance. We had to move forward ourselves, and those who have been connected with frontier affairs must realize how difficult it is, in the face of another rival Power, to keep still when alongside those disorderly and uncivilized peoples. Sir Alfred Lyall evidently grasped that fact years ago, and he therefore came to the conclusion that the best way to meet the situation was by mutual agreement with the Russians. The first step was the demarcation of the north-west Afghan frontier. I can remember when that was being done how we thought that it must be only a very temporary measure, and that sooner or later the Russians would overstep the boundary. But, as a matter of fact, it has been kept intact to this day ; the boundary fixed in 1886 has not been transgressed, and Sir Alfred Lyall is proved to have been in the right. This was the foundation of the later agreement with Russia, and we can only hope that this may prove equally successful.

LORD LAMINGTON : We are all very grateful to Sir Mortimer Durand for the very wonderful address he has given us, which was full of historical research and elucidates many points. When Sir Mortimer referred to the Convention, and to the necessity of upholding it and not imputing bad faith to Russia, I could not help thinking of some considerations he did not mention. The Convention was concluded just after Russia had suffered the severe reverses of her war with Japan. I understand that we then decided to promote the policy Sir Alfred Lyall had so steadfastly advocated, and that the basis of our proposed agreement was so extraordinarily magnanimous and unduly generous that Russia repudiated it and did not believe we could be

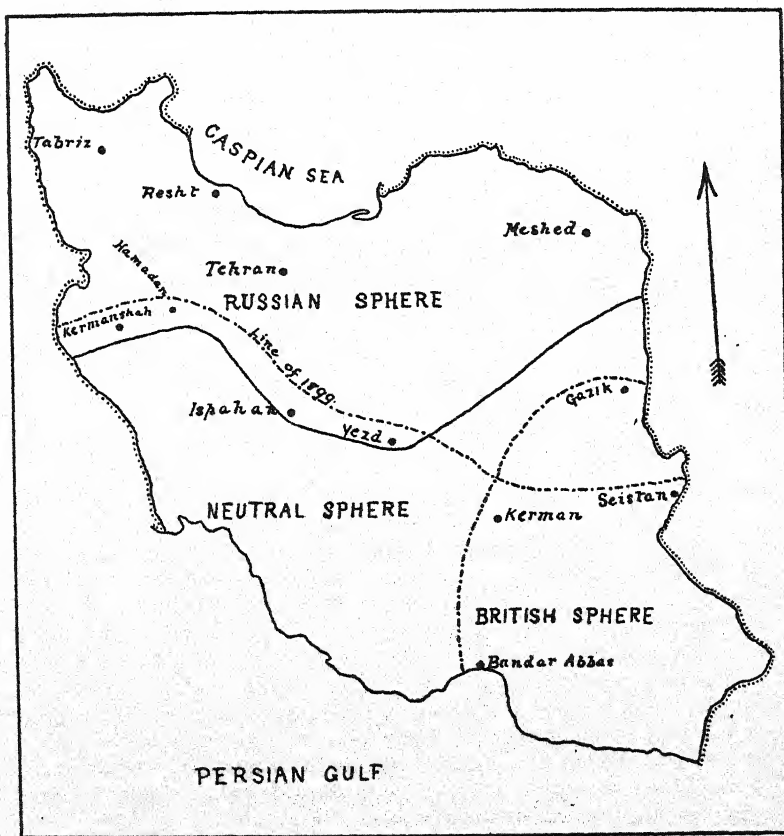
sincere in making such terms. The 1907 Convention is, I understand, practically the second edition of our offer. As regards Persia, it sets forth that the object and intention is to preserve the independence and integrity of the country; whereas from that day to this there have been in Persia thousands of Russian troops. Is that carrying out the object of the Convention? It is ridiculous to say for a moment that the Convention has upheld its proper purpose. I consider it has absolutely failed therein, and that this is proved by the mere fact of the continued presence of these troops in Persia. I do not believe there is any person who thinks for one moment that these foreign troops are ever going to be withdrawn. The Russians, we know, are trying to get to an open water port. I note that recently a memorandum has been presented to the Czar by Baron Rozen, in which he indicates that Russia, having suffered a check in the direction of getting to the Mediterranean by way of Constantinople, her whole energy and the object of her policy should be directed to Central Asia and toward the provision of a port in Persia. That is laid down distinctly as a policy. We cannot, in face of such suggestions, sit on one side and say we have the Convention, and that that duly safeguards us. Sir Mortimer very truly said that no Convention can absolve us from the necessity and duty of looking after our own defences in India. My complaint against the Convention is that it has failed to carry out its objects, and is not removing the causes for controversy and friction between Russia and ourselves. I do not myself believe that had there been no Convention, Russia would have been a whit stronger in Persia to-day than she is with the Convention. As to the alleged strategical advantages of the spheres of influence it laid down in Persia, I believe that Lord Kitchener never agreed to those spheres. I cannot speak with absolute authority, but I believe Lord Kitchener was asked what he was prepared to defend with the existing army in India, and he answered that he was prepared to defend the area which was afterwards agreed to as within the British sphere. But that was not the same thing as his approving of the demarcation of spheres as laid down. Sir Francis Younghusband told us quite frankly that Russian officers declared to him that there was a desire and intention to get to India, and I have seen in a Russian paper the remark that there can be no real friendship between ourselves and Russia so long as we retain India. Now, I do not wish to impute bad faith to Russia, but it must be remembered that there are always two parties in Russia, one of them in favour of carrying out agreements with perfect honesty and fidelity; and the other, a strong party, always anxious to seize every opportunity and to press forward an aggressive policy. It is no uncommon thing for two Russian representatives at one city to press forward strongly opposite policies. Anyone here who knows Persia will admit that that is an absolutely true statement.

Colonel C. E. YATE, M.P.: There was a sentence in the lecture relating to the Penjdeh incident which seemed to imply that the Afghans were supposed to have occupied a point in Russian territory. It never occurred to me before that that could be so. The Russians at that time had only just occupied Merv, and had not penetrated beyond that, and the Afghans, as far as we understood at the time, were within their rights in garrisoning their frontier at Penjdeh. The place was afterwards given up to the Russians, and this was one of the terms upon which a peaceful settlement was reached. But I do not think we can say that the Afghans were occupying any Russian territory in those days.

In respect to Persia, one point that emerges from the discussion is the necessity for us at the present time to be watchful of our interests in the Gulf and in the south. We ought to remember that attached to the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 there was a letter from Sir Edward Grey in which he laid down in most definite terms our special interests in the Persian Gulf, and placed on record the fact that Russia did not deny those interests. I think the expression used was that the British Government had taken formal note of the statement to that effect made by the Russian Government. When we come to think of it, the essence of British interests in the Persian Gulf consists of the maintenance and safety of the roads leading up from the Gulf toward the interior of Persia. Those interests are secured to us by the acknowledgment of the Russian Government, and it behoves us to maintain in every possible way access from the Gulf to the interior. This is a most important matter to us at the present moment when the Trans-Persian Railway scheme is under consideration. It is understood that a proposal is on foot to construct an international line from Baku in the north, through Tehran and down to Bunder Abbas or Charbar in the south. What we have to secure is that all British goods coming from India or the Gulf should have just as clear a run into Persia as the Russian goods coming from the north. If British and Indian goods are to have this free run, it follows that the break of gauge on the railway should take place at Ispahan or Yezd, and the Russian gauge should not come south of that. The remaining part of the line should be on the Indian gauge. We must adhere to Lord Lansdowne's declaration of the need for using every means in our power to prevent any foreign Power acquiring a port in the Persian Gulf. We have, therefore, to see that the Russian line is not brought to the Gulf, and that the railways in the south are on the Indian gauge and in British hands. I will only add that, as an old assistant of Sir Alfred Lyall's, I have listened with great delight to the paper. All will agree that Sir Mortimer has given us a wonderful treat.

Colonel A. C. YATE: I agree with Lord Lamington that the independence of Persia has not been secured by the Convention. A great

authority on Persia, with whom I was recently in conversation, expressed to me the opinion that Russia would never evacuate Azerbaijan, and he went farther and said that Russia welcomed any British act savouring of intervention in Southern Persia as affording a pretext and parallel for her own more aggressive attitude in the Northern. We all know that our Government has just invested £2,200,000 of public money in the Anglo-Persian Company's oil-fields, which are mainly situated in the neutral zone. When the First Lord of the Admiralty announced some time ago that oil was largely to replace coal as fuel in our Navy, his Government then had decided to invest this money in Persian territory, and that the neutral zone. Is England likely to abandon a country in which she has sunk two millions and more?



THE OPENING OF THE PANAMA CANAL.

The Relation of India and the Crown Colonies to the Empire.

THE need for the consideration of this subject at the present time is urgent, in order that some arrangement may be made by which these possessions of the Crown may share, in an Imperial scheme of defence for the safeguarding of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific and be *acknowledged* as a "unit of Empire."

Whatever causes may have led in the past to the present position of India and the Crown Colonies, the adoption of Empire by Great Britain and the world-wide responsibilities it implies, might have earlier brought about some change in our system which actually excludes these dependencies from any share in the advantages and in the responsibilities of Empire. Looking back, it is easy to understand that India was always occupied with the controlling of a land frontier, ever advancing, and was quite content to enjoy the Pax Britannica without being called upon to pay for naval defence. I go no further back than November 1, 1858, when by proclamation the intention of Her Majesty to assume the government of India was announced.

But since the war between Russia and Japan, the condition of our Eastern Empire has undergone a great change. The military policy of the Government of India is no longer arranged to repel the possible attack of a European army across her north-west frontier, her eyes and her thoughts travel seaward, and the main objective for her army becomes—

1. The support of naval policy in Eastern seas.
2. Co-operation with our Overseas Dominions.

Her expansion is no longer limited by the land on which she has found a scientific frontier, but if she is given the chance, there need be no position amongst the nations of the world to which she may not attain; her commerce will expand, and she will discover new markets in the ports of the Dominions; her resources as a manufacturing base will be developed by British capital; her revenue will be enormously increased, until full recognition throughout the Empire is made of her great wealth and importance.

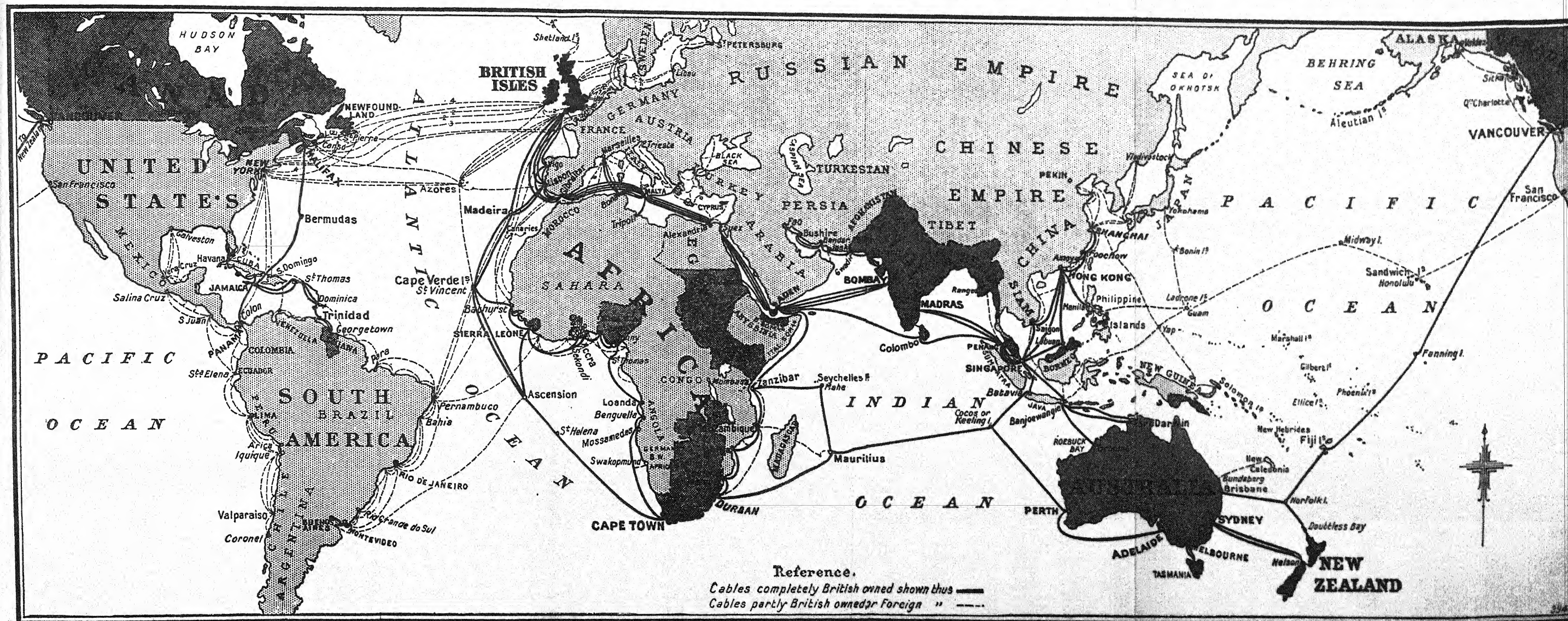
There are, however, two fallacies which seem to be ingrained in the system of administration in India which need to be overcome. That it is unfair to the peoples of India to pay from Indian revenue towards a naval defence, and that British capital ought not to be employed in the country, the development of which should be left to the people of India themselves, such ideas scarcely call for refutation, they simply retard the progress of our Eastern Empire, and if they are allowed to influence the future of India, they must inevitably leave her behind in the history of the world's progress.

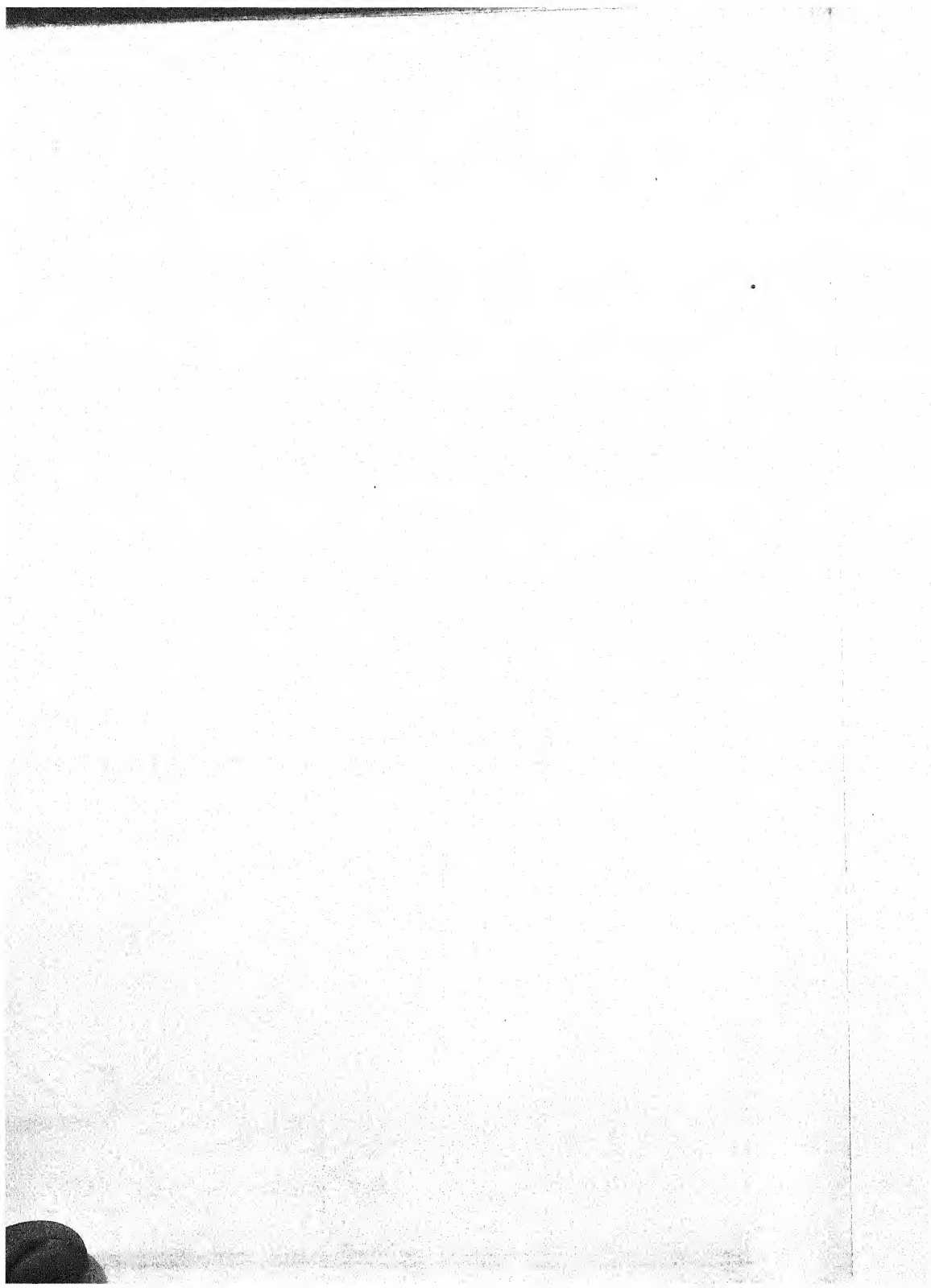
But, unless co-operation between India and the Overseas Dominions is initiated and encouraged and a free exchange of advantages can be arranged, we shall fail in developing our military system on Imperial lines, and shall not obtain from the Commonwealth, the Dominion, and the Union, the reinforcements for India, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and Hong-Kong, that are

MAP ILLUSTRATING THE GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF COUNTRIES BELONGING TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN CONSIDERING THE PROPOSAL FOR THE CO-OPERATION OF ALL THE UNITS OF EMPIRE IN PROVIDING FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE INDIAN OCEAN AND THE PACIFIC.

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MAP OF THE WORLD SHOWING CABLE ROUTES.





necessary to the security of them all, for we can no longer make use of the Suez Canal for the passage of reinforcements from home in time of war. Such are absolutely necessary for India's safety, and can only be obtained through the generous consideration of the various questions that will be deliberated upon at the Imperial Conference that must take place in the early months of next year.

Can anyone doubt the advisability of acknowledging "Sea Power" to be the basis of all our Imperial policy, equally applicable in all territories that claim to have a share in the Empire? Without its combination and co-operation, unity and joint action, cannot be attained.

But we can only state the case plainly and trust to the wisdom of our rulers; they have to deal with the problem in regard to India and the Crown Colonies, in no hesitating way, for if these are not admitted to the Imperial Conference of 1915, and if they are not permitted to share on an equality with the other portions of the Empire that will seek to find a solution of the problem that faces the British Empire, their opportunity will go by and they will never be able to claim the position that is essential for them.

For to-day we are face to face with facts and require to meet them:

1. The opening of the Panama Canal will involve great changes in our relations with the Overseas Dominions.

2. The early assembly next year of an Imperial Conference on defence, and the desire expressed by Australia and New Zealand to secure full consideration for a policy of co-operation in the defence of the Pacific, indicate the character of the deliberations that will take place when that Conference assembles.

We must recognize that our "Alliance with Japan" is unpopular in the Dominions, and that in so far as it is held to be a reason for reducing the standard of naval strength in Eastern waters, there is justification for such unpopularity; the Conference of 1909 came to an agreement which held out the hope of co-operation, but that agreement has since disappeared.

The Conference in 1915 will really have to begin its work *de novo*, and the partners in the Empire will discuss an entirely new situation; the geographical position of units remains unaltered, but the basis for co-operation has materially changed. The delegates from Great Britain will find that the defence of the Pacific is held by the delegates from the Dominions, as a problem entirely independent of the Imperial Naval strength in European waters, or of diplomatic arrangements that more or less control the distribution of our fleets; they will be prepared for arrangements that will maintain at all hazards the requisite number of ships for the defence of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific; they will ungrudgingly and generously co-operate, but the defence in Eastern waters must be a complete defence. The points they will discuss will probably include:

1. The military defence against invasion of all Imperial territories, and the most convenient and effective way of securing that defence. This involves the possibility of arranging in advance for the transfer of troops, in certain strength, from one part of the Empire to another threatened part.

2. The victualling of Imperial territories in time of war. There are no grounds for speculation as to the deliberations which will take place at the Imperial Conference, but the entirely new departure which will follow the opening of the Panama Canal is certain, and the delegates will assemble with their minds fixed on the question of the defence of the Pacific.

Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa are each of them directly interested. May this single purpose lead to the closer federation of the Empire

It needs no apology for laying stress on the high importance of this question being studied carefully by every man and woman in the British Empire, for this Conference will either make or mar our prospect of true federation.

If the delegates from the Mother Country deliberately face the great problem of the defence of the Pacific and enter ungrudgingly into the discussions with regard to its solution, their generosity in meeting them may meet with the most willing and generous support, and will recover for them the lead in naval questions throughout the Empire; they may be able to formulate and gain approval of a permanent arrangement by which the influence of the British Empire may be maintained in distant seas.

It is our duty to support the action of the Government by stimulating an enlightened public opinion that will justify generous action and will enable them to prepare for any additional expenditure that may be necessary, but more than all, to feel and to show a spirit of real trust in the good intentions of all who are concerned, in bringing about a true federation of the Empire in all its parts, and in effecting a real co-operation that will lead to great advantage.

E. F. CHAPMAN.

BEECH HURST, LINGFIELD.

A TYPICAL DAY'S MARCH IN EASTERN BOKHARA.

Of all the countries in which the religion and culture of Islam once reigned supreme, Bokhara and Afghanistan have perhaps succumbed the least to outside influences. Until quite recently these last outposts of Mohammedan civilization have obstinately resisted the intrusion of the stranger. Thanks to its position as buffer state between India and Russia, Afghanistan has maintained its independence; but Bokhara, less fortunately placed, is already in Russia's grasp, though nominally independent. To those who knew the country some fifteen or twenty years ago, the steady advance of Russian influence is very apparent. Native art and industry are withering under it. Russia floods the country with her cheap cotton goods, coloured with inferior aniline dyes, and the Bokhariot dons these in place of the home-woven fabrics of his own country, with their soft yet brilliant hues won by primitive means from the vegetable world.

In the bazaars of the larger towns, Bokhara, Karshi, Sharshauz, the Jew and the Armenian drive a thriving trade in all kinds of Russian wares. These are, generally speaking, "cheap and nasty," for picturesque as his own *milieu*, the Bokhariot is indiscriminating in his choice of European goods. Gaudy lamps, poor tin-ware, crockery with appalling patterns, distorting mirrors, plush sofas, and various bric-à-brac, are among the objects which find their way into the Bokhariot's establishment. Their number would be greater, but for the fact that the native is a man of few wants. Living in conditions, and holding traditions which differ little from those of a thousand years ago, his rule of life is, that what was good enough for his fathers is good enough for him; and while the paraphernalia of a European household excites his wonder, he continues to run his own establishment in the old way. How far Russian influence will prove a solvent of this indifference to what is new is difficult to say. Mohammedan culture and civilization are so deeply rooted in the Koran, so bound up

with the exclusion of women from all part in the public life of the community, that so long as these conditions obtain, any far-reaching change is hardly to be looked for.

Meanwhile the lover of what is old-world and picturesque must be thankful that the process of disintegration at least works slowly. In the north-eastern corner of the Khanate, in the valleys of the Surkhob, the Muksu and the Khingob, the mountain-folk live in their primitive tree-embosomed hamlets, or tend their flocks in the treeless heights of the great Tupchek plateau in a simplicity unspoiled as yet by outside influence. Travel in these regions is a delightful pastime rather than a serious undertaking.

On the big caravan tracks of the plain vehicles are possible. One may jolt along in the arba—a springless cart with enormous wheels, warranted to surmount every obstacle—or one may trust one's bones to the enterprising Jehu of a Russian phaeton; but the narrow mountain-paths of Darwaz and Karategin can only be sealed on foot or on horseback. Travel in these regions transports us back to the Middle Ages, before the era of roads, when our forefathers journeyed thus, and took weeks to traverse country which the railway covers in a few hours.

The day's march begins early, for the Bokhariot, being a good Mohammedan, is up before sunrise, which in summer means about four o'clock, to perform his devotions, and once he and his fellows are clattering about the courtyard, calling to each other in high-pitched tones, further sleep is impossible. In lower latitudes the house-fly is another hindrance to the prolonging of one's slumbers after dawn. Flies are the great pest of Bokhara, and swarm in myriads on the walls, on the floors, and on the food. The native, however, does nothing to destroy them, and seems, in fact, to be little disturbed by them. It is possible that if he knew of their danger to the community, he would regard them as the old peasant regarded the locusts who were destroying his fields. Being asked why he did nothing against them, he replied that he felt sure they were sent as a punishment by Allah, and that therefore he must endure them.

Before we start, our host, the Amlakdar, or chief official of the district, provides us with breakfast—tea, eggs, new bread, fruit, and a dish of rice and milk. We enjoy the meal leisurely, and leisurely prepare for the journey; there is no train to catch, and we have the whole day before us. The Mirza Bashi, the Government official who accompanies us everywhere at the command of the Amir, comes in to wish us "Good-morning," and to inform us that the horses are ready. The courtyard of the Maimankhanah (house for strangers) is filled with a motley crowd of shouting and gesticulating humanity. Horses of all sorts and conditions are being loaded up with baggage, the more respectable specimens being reserved for the riders. Saddles and bridles leave much to be desired, but we comfort ourselves with the thought that they will be changed at the next station. A final adjustment of saddle-bags and stirrups, and the Mirza Bashi, in rainbow-hued garments and white turban, mounts his fine black charger, heads the procession, and we are off. The Amlakdar and his gaily-clad suite accompany us for about half a mile, then, dismounting, they bow gravely, stroke their beautifully trimmed beards, and bid us farewell.

The horses are quiet, well-behaved animals, and soon settle down into the regular journey jog-trot. Here and there is one more restive than his fellows, but his ardour is tamed by a gallop up-hill, after which he is as easy to handle as the others.

This mode of travel is conducive to thought, but curiously enough it is not the problems which interest us so much in Europe that now occupy the mind. At present these seem very far away. We are living in another world; the clock of time has been put back a few centuries. Our mighty cavalcade winding along the road might be Timur and his nobles marching through his dominions, or the fugitive Babur, whose ill luck in his own country led him to found a far mightier kingdom in India. Nay, we are carried back still farther, to a different land, but one with similar conditions and modes of life—to Palestine, and amongst the people of Bokhara we see a living picture of the types among which Jesus lived and worked. Do not the sick, the maimed, the halt, and the blind swarm round us as they did round Him, confident that we must have something that will cure them? In the haughty Bokhariot official, with his big paunch, gaudy clothing, and his sublime contempt for the poor, out of whom he extorts everything, to the last farthing, we have the counterpart of the Pharisee or of the rich man Dives, and we understand more clearly than before how the down-trodden of those days must have worshipped the man who dared to take their part against their oppressors.

To those familiar with the Bible its analogies and parables gain a clearer meaning in the light of a journey through this country. It is as if the Bible lay illustrated before us, not as we were accustomed to it in our childhood, when Elijah appeared in robes of the seventh century driving a Roman chariot, but with a truth and vividness drawn from Nature itself. This land, so fruitful where water reaches it, so parched and desolate where the life-bringing stream is wanting, makes us understand why the Bible dwells so insistently on the blessings of water, and why throughout its pages water is the great symbol of the spiritual life.

Only those who have ridden for hours over desolate stretches of steppe under the pitiless glare of the Turkestan sun can imagine what "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land" means to the traveller, or with what feelings he welcomes a shady sycamore or walnut-tree, standing as a solitary sentinel in the unspeakable loneliness of the arid steppe. The Bokhariot, like the Israelite of old, girds up his loins when he has a journey to make; not, indeed, the proud official who will not be seen on foot, but the man in the street. I venture to say the Last Supper was served on the floor, and that Jesus and the twelve sat round the great dish in a circle, just as the Bokhariots do at the present time. To this day the Bokhariot pays attention to the washing of his feet, though he may be less particular about other parts of his body. The changes of raiment, customary as gifts in Bible lands, have their counterpart in the rich silk khalat, or outer garment, which the official has presented to him when he visits the mighty of the land. These are a few instances out of many which strike us as we wander through the country. And as we ponder over the simplicity of life here, the contrast between it and the life of the West impresses us painfully. The West has lost in simplicity, gained in complexity, but at the cost of peace. True the Bokhariot of the lower classes has not an ideal life. Oppression at the hands of the ruling class is his fate now as it was centuries ago, but what of our lower classes—the victims of the mine and the factory? The poverty-stricken mountaineer chases the ibex over the glaciers and up the rock face, and brings home a meal which will last his family a month. When that is finished, they starve until he finds another. Or he tills his fields to the best of his ability, and wrings a scanty crop from Mother Earth, who is niggard of her treasures in the

high mountains. But he remains in contact with Nature; it is with her he fights for his daily bread, and the fight steels and hardens his muscles and strengthens his senses. Can the same be said of the miner and the factory hand?

These and similar thoughts fill the mind as one rides leisurely along in the pellucid atmosphere of the early morning, when purple shadows still hover over the mountains, and the innumerable eddies and currents of the river flash silver below us.

Our path runs at times on a level with the river, sometimes it is cut out of the cliff face, or runs along this on a frail-looking framework of branches rammed at right angles into the rock and supported on upright boughs from beneath. The interstices are strewn with stones and gravel, so that the holes may not be too apparent; but woe to the rider whose horse stumbles in one of these. The Bokhariot rides over these places with the fatalistic nonchalance of his race; but the European, if he is a wise man, refuses thus to tempt Providence, and, dismounting, leads his horse warily over the perilous spot. Sometimes, leaving the river far below, the path mounts upward, and winds along the top of the bank amid thickets of bloom. Yellow wild roses, giant hemlock, blue geraniums, grow in profusion, while great patches of vetch and wild peony make vivid splashes of purple and crimson on the hillside.

After a ride of about an hour and a half we arrive at the next station. Here we find a willow-fringed enclosure ready for our reception, and fowl, omelette, milk, bread and chicken broth provided for luncheon. We eat with appetite, for somehow that never seems to fail in these regions. Two musicians treat us to the weird, curious music of the country, which to European ears sounds so unmelodious and so monotonous. We doze a little, take photographs of the magnificent snow-clad peaks in the distance, and a couple of hours later continue the journey on a fresh set of horses. We ride on for some three or four hours. The approach of a train of officials in brilliant robes warns us that we are near our destination. They dismount, and after greeting the Mirza Bashi effusively, tender a quieter welcome to the other members of the party, and, remounting, lead the procession to its quarters for the night. Crowds of villagers line the streets, eager to enjoy the "tamasha," as they call everything offering spectacular interest. They throng the courtyard as we dismount, they swarm on the roofs and round the doors of the house, sitting on their haunches and staring fixedly at our every movement. This village is more important than some of its neighbours, so our quarters are more sumptuous. The house is as usual built of mud. Our room is large and lofty, with whitewashed walls. It has three doors on either side, which serve at the same time as windows. Above these the wall is pierced by lattice-work of a fine geometrical pattern, through which a subdued light filters into the room when the doors are shut. Thanks to the extraordinary dryness of the climate, the Bokhariot can afford to live for the greater part of the year in the open air; his house is therefore little more than a rude shelter of a very primitive sort. In more civilized parts of the country Russian example has led him to adopt glass windows and stoves, but up in the mountains these luxuries are unknown.

A series of niches at either end of the room serve as cupboards. The floor is covered with carpets, and a couple of bedsteads are heaped with an array of cushions and coverlets. In the middle of the room is a long table provided with chairs for the party. These articles of furniture, being unknown in a Bokharan

56 A TYPICAL DAY'S MARCH IN EASTERN BOKHARA

household, and only provided for European use, are fearfully and wonderfully made. Sometimes the table is only removed a few inches from the floor, in which case the chairs invariably tower above it; frequently the conditions are reversed, and one sits with one's chin on a level with the table. The legs of the table are generally perilously unsteady, and a careless push may lead to their collapse, and the landing of the contents of the board on the floor. This is a serious matter, for the table groans as a rule under the dainties supplied by our host. Trays and dishes piled with sweets, grapes, apples, melons, pistachios, apricots, cucumbers, hard boiled eggs, and bread, all form part of the show, according to the district and the season of the year.

Our first cry on arrival on a hot summer's day is for tea, and that is supplied in quantities. Green tea is the national drink of Bokhara, and when none other is forthcoming, the European can drink it and find it refreshing. As a rule, however, he brings Russian tea with him, or the Maiman-khanah supplies him with it.

When our host thinks we have had enough tea, sweets, and fruit, he orders the rest of the meal to be served. This consists almost invariably of chicken broth, for which the most ancient inhabitants of the poultry-yard have been sacrificed. These, boiled to rags, form a separate dish. Then follow kebab, or stewed mutton, and pillau, a most tasty dish of rice and mutton. This is the national dish of the country, but it varies in quality and ingredients with the rank of the house in which it is produced. In the home of the humble Bokhariot it is a very simple dish, but in the establishments of the rich, potatoes, carrots, pomegranates, quince, and raisins, form part of its make-up, and the result is a very toothsome mixture. Whether a Bokharan menu would appeal to one as much in Europe as it does in Central Asia is doubtful. For cooking purposes the Bokhariot uses almost exclusively mutton-fat, butter being practically unknown. The food is consequently very greasy, and, as he prefers to cook an animal immediately after it is slaughtered, the meat is frequently very hard. I am bound to say that, in spite of these drawbacks, the traveller does justice to the fare. What he leaves is eaten by the servants; what they leave, by the menials; what they leave, by the beggars. If these leave anything, it may eventually reach the dogs; but, judging from the appearance of these animals, I should say they have little to hope for in that quarter, and are probably reduced to theft for a living.

The midday meal over, we lounge about a little and inspect our quarters. If a river is near, or a mountain stream, we go and bathe. To do this without attracting a crowd of native spectators is, of course, very difficult, but sometimes in the quiet pools of a mountain stream it is possible to have a delicious dip without anybody knowing it.

Then we saunter among the groups of native officials quartered near us, and admire the simplicity of their establishment, which in its picturesqueness always puts that of the European to shame. They sit cross-legged on the floor, drinking tea or smoking the chilim or water pipe. They are invariably courteous, interested in all we do, though incapable of understanding the motives of our journey. They invite us to join them; so we sit with them on the floor, sip the green tea they offer us, and, calling the interpreter, prepare for a chat. His knowledge of the Russian language is not immaculate, but it serves our purpose. The talk turns on our mountain excursions. These fill them with wonder. They are at a loss to understand how anyone can find pleasure or

profit in climbing in the snow or over the glaciers, and they ask if it is gold we are seeking. Noting our geologist's interest in stones, they send out to collect as many curious specimens of these as they can find, and are grievously disappointed when these turn out to be worthless.

Evening draws on. The setting sun flings a golden glory over the landscape. The twilight is short, and we prepare for rest. Out on the terrace, which drops sheer to the river a few hundreds of feet below us, or under the trees of the garden, we spread our beds, and by the time the stars are out we are sleeping soundly, ready to be up the next day at sunrise. We fall asleep with the pleasurable thought that to-morrow will again bring us new experiences, new scenery, new quarters, new faces, and that to-morrow's march will bring us still nearer our goal—the majestic snow-crowned mountains of which now and again we catch glimpses as the path winds high above the river valley.

C. MABEL RICKMERS.

THE TIBET CONFERENCE.

The Conference on Tibet now being held in India between the representatives of China, Tibet, and India, seems to be still continuing the similar, monotonous, never-ending way of all such conferences on Tibet. Rumours as to the conclusions which have been reached have appeared in the daily press. But one report says one thing, and another report affirms the precisely opposite fact. One says we are, and the other says we are not, to have a representative at Lhasa. All that seems quite certain is that no final settlement has yet been reached, and that the usual references from the delegates to headquarters continue to be made. They may thus continue for any length of time longer. The essential point for us to watch is that the Chinese neither by their ineffectiveness nor by their spasmodic over-effectiveness should be allowed to create that unrest and uncertainty in Tibet which has led to so much trouble in the past.

FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND.

NOTES AND NEWS

A New University for China.—It is proposed to found and endow a British University at Hangkow or some other approved location, and the promoters are leading members of the Oxford, Cambridge, and London Universities, and up to the present seventy-seven Members of Parliament of all shades of politics have promised their support. The idea was that the British Government should make a grant of not less than £250,000 out of the Boxer Indemnity. The proposal has already been considered by the Government, and Sir Edward Grey wrote a strong despatch to the Treasury asking for the allocation of the whole sum required. The Treasury replied in effect that they would be willing to arrange a grant of £150,000 if a like sum be raised in the country. It would be difficult to raise such a sum, and it is thought by the promoters that in consideration of the profit that this country is making on the Boxer Indemnity, it would be reasonable to suggest that the Government should make a more liberal grant. Professor Soothill, the acting President of the proposed University, has enlisted the support of about forty of the Chambers of Commerce in this country, including those of London, Manchester, and Glasgow.

Chinese Minister in London.—The newly-appointed Chinese Minister, Sao Ke Alfred Sze, was educated in America, and graduated at Cornell University. He has seen service in the Chinese Legations in Washington and St. Petersburg, and was Secretary to the Chinese Commissioners at the first Peace Conference at the Hague.

Although educated abroad he is strictly Conservative, and has maintained a consistent aloofness from Revolutionists, which was probably the reason why the Young China Party rejected him when he was nominated Minister in Washington. He has held the posts of Minister of Communications and Master of Ceremonies at the Presidential Palace.

The New Constitution in China.—The Cabinet is abolished and Ministers are replaced by Secretaries. There is a Single Chamber Legislature, and the Premier is a Secretary of State. The President is supreme under the new Constitution. As head of the nation and chief of the Administration, he can convoke, open, suspend, close, or dissolve the House of Legislature, can submit Bills and Budgets, refer passed Bills back to Legislature for reconsideration, and, if they are again passed by a three-fourths majority, can withhold their promulgation with the consent of the Administrative Council. When he deems secrecy necessary, he may refuse to answer questions from the Legislature dealing with Administrative matters. The President has sole power to appoint or dismiss civil and military officials, to declare war or conclude peace, to control the army and navy and expenditure upon them. The clause in the previous constitution to the effect that judges are not subject to interference from higher officials does not appear in the new Constitution.

Opening of Chinese Ports.—We learn from the *Manchester Courier* that the Chinese Government has opened to foreign trade seven towns in the north. They are : Kweiwacheng in Shansi ; Chihfeng, Kalgan, and Dolonor in Chihli ; Lungkow in Shantung ; Taonanfu in Western Shengking ; and Kulutao, the new port under construction in South-Western Shenking. The object in view is evidently to preserve China's interests in the region that is threatened with the dominance of Russia and Japan, though it may be unfair not to credit the Chinese Government with the realization that the encouragement of foreign trade is *per se* well worthy of its attention.

There can be little doubt that China's hold upon Inner Mongolia would be much strengthened if any considerable international trade were to be established at the five new open ports outside the Great Wall. Japanese influence will, however, be undoubtedly extended, because she has acquired the right to construct a railway from Taonanfu to Jehol among others. It must generally be conceded that in principle, if perhaps not in fact, the more places in China that are opened for foreign trade the better both for that country and the merchants who participate in it.

China's Coal Supply.—The fields are numerous and widely scattered, and contain, as a rule, coal of a good quality, such as anthracite, semi-anthracite, bituminous, semi-bituminous, and lignite. The principal coalfield in Manchuria is that of Fushun, near Mukden, where it is stated there are 800 million tons of workable coal. In the province of Chihli—which is at present the most important producer—there are also numerous fields. Shantung Province contains anthracite and bituminous coal. The most famous coal areas are, however, in the province of Shansi. There are two regions—the anthracite and the bituminous. The principal seam in the anthracite area is from 12 feet to 30 feet thick, and persists over wide areas, and the bituminous area contains good workable seams ! It has been estimated that the anthracite resources of this province amount to 630,000 millions of tons, while the bituminous resources are said to be even greater. The province of Shensi contains both anthracite and bituminous coal, and that of Honan contains an extension of the Shansi anthracite field. The Great Southern coalfield, which possesses good bituminous coking coal and anthracite, is in the province of Hunan and Kiangsi, and there is an immense area in the province of Szechuan, though information regarding it is conflicting.

British Trade in China.—Mr. Thomas M. Ainscough has been appointed Special Commissioner to the Board of Trade to investigate and report on the conditions and prospects of British trade in China. Mr. Ainscough left for the East towards the end of May, and the present mission is expected to last about a year.

Expedition to the Yenisei.—Miss Czaplicka, who is already well known for her anthropological studies of the aborigines of Northern Asia, is undertaking an expedition for the purpose of studying on the spot the native tribes of the Yenisei Valley, anthropologically and linguistically. The expedition will proceed from Moscow by the Trans Siberian Railway to Kvanoyarsk, on the Yenisei. They will ascend the Yenisei by steamer to Gilchicha. It is Miss Czaplicka's intention to spend a year in the Yenisei region.

Mongolia.—The Mongolian Government has once more reasserted the fact that it is not under the jurisdiction of China, and begs that British, American, French, and German Consuls, or other authorized representatives, may be sent

to Urga to conclude treaties of commerce and friendship similar to that signed with Russia. This request has been made twice previously, and no answer has yet been received.

This reiteration of Mongolian independence is rendered all the more significant by the reluctance of the Mongols to participate in the proposed conference between China and Russia to determine the Mongolian boundaries, and by the presence of 5,000 Hunghuzes camping under orders for Urga in Inner Mongolia.

Education in Japan is compulsory to this extent—all children must be sent to school at the age of six, and they must attend school for six years.

Those who finish the six years of obligatory attendance may enter the high school. Of these latter there are 311 throughout the empire, with 6,000 instructors and 122,245 pupils. The graded schools are supported by local taxation, and the high schools by prefecture, or State taxation.

There are four Imperial Universities under the direct control of the Minister of Education, the oldest being the University of Tokio, and the next the Kioto. The Tohoku University was established about twelve years ago, while the Kiushu University was established about the same time. The principal Agricultural College was incorporated into the Tohoku University. There are about 8,000 students in the four Imperial Universities, of whom about 1,500 are graduated annually.

Besides the Government Universities, there are a number of high technical schools, agricultural, commercial, industrial, and medical, under Government control, together with a number of private institutions of high standing. The most important of these latter is the Waseda University, which is under the presidency of Count Okuma. There they have about 6,000 students in their various schools and they have lately built colleges of science and of law, and are about to build a medical school in connection therewith.

English is now compulsory for five years in the high schools, though no other language is, and, as a matter of fact, all educated young men in Japan know English; if they cannot speak it fluently, they can at least read it.

Trade of the Persian Gulf.—It is expected that the irrigation schemes in Mesopotamia will bring vast areas of land into cultivation for grain. British shipping companies have at present a large share of the trade, but it is understood that in one of the developments which may be expected shortly, not only English, but also German and French financiers will participate. The interests of the British India Steam Navigation Company are well represented throughout the ports of the Persian Gulf; but it is interesting to note that the Hamburg-Amerika has already a service from Hamburg and Antwerp to the Persian Gulf, and in France the possibility of a subsidized steamship service has long been discussed.

The Russian Government, too, have decided to grant a subsidy not exceeding £12,000 a year to a line of fast steamers which will run between Odessa and Bushire, on the Persian Gulf, touching at the intermediate ports. Russian Consuls have long advocated such an outlet for Russian trade.

Journey across Arabia.—Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell, in the *Times* of June 12, gives the following account of her recent journey in Arabia:

"Leaving Damascus in the middle of December, I turned south-east for the purpose of examining the ruin of Burqa—never before visited—which proved to be an outlying fortress of the Roman lines, with early Muhammadan additions—

these last attested by a Kufic inscription dated in the year 82 of the Hijrah. My next business was to revisit the Umayyad palaces in the desert east of the Hejáz railway, a task which was fruitful in archæological results. In the southern part of my route I crossed and recrossed the two tracks of Mr. Carruthers, and found his sketch-map, published in the Geographical Society's Journal, of much service. I planned a ruin at Bir Ba'ir, where he had passed a night; and subsequently, in the Jebel Tubaiq, planned and photographed a small post station, of which, I believe, Dr. Musil had information, though he had not been able to visit it. This and Bir Ba'ir indicate, I make no doubt, the existence of an old caravan route to Taimâ, east of the Hajj road.

"I left Taimâ, a day's journey to the west, and turned eastward into the Nefid, the great sand desert. Skirting its southern edge, I fixed the position of a couple of wells and photographed the singular sand formations. I passed through Jebel Mismâ, into the plains of Northern Nejd, and made my way without any opposition to Hâyil. The Shammar capital had not been visited, so far as my knowledge goes, by any European since 1893. In the interval the political conditions had undergone considerable alteration. The tribal areas which were held together by the strong hand of the Amir Muhammad ibn Rashid have shrunk in extent and diminished in security. The domestic tragedies of the Rashids, which during the past twenty years have swept all the grown men of Muhammad's house from the stage, and the encroaching power of 'Abd al Azîz ibn Sa'ud of al-Riyâd, form a chapter in the history of modern Arabia of which little has been told. My belief is that ibn Sa'ud is now the chief figure in Central Arabia, although the Ottoman Government was still pursuing its traditional policy of subsidizing and supplying arms to the Rashids. Captain Shakespear will be able to give us more certain information as to the relative position of the protagonists.

"The young Amir, Sa'ud ibn Rashid, a boy of sixteen, was engaged in a distant raid when I reached Hâyil, and with him was his chief adviser, Zâmil ibn Subhân. In their absence, though I was well received, I was allowed little liberty. Nominally Ibrahim, Zâmil's brother, was vicegerent. The real authority lay in the hands of the Amir's grandmother, Fâtima, with whom I carried on negotiations through the head eunuch. After repeated protests I broke down the embargoes, which were, I think, due mainly to her, in so far as to be allowed free access to the palace. I visited the women of the shaikhly family, and photographed the town, but Fâtima herself refused to see me. Since there was no news of the Amir, and no likelihood of his immediate return, I left Hâyil after a sojourn of eleven days, and returned to Damascus by way of Baghdad. The road to Baghdad was devoid of interest, but I broke new ground in the Syrian Desert, and found there unexpected traces of settled habitation, dating from no very recent period. At Damascus I learnt that Zâmil and Ibrahim had fallen victims to a palace intrigue, and that the Shammar had suffered a serious reverse at the hands of a shaikh of the northern 'Anazeh. I should judge that the position of ibn Sa'ud has been improved by the further weakening, internal and external, of his rivals."

From Koweit to Suez.—Captain Shakespear, British Resident at Koweit, has just returned from a journey across Arabia from Koweit to Suez via Riadh, Boraidah, and Jaufalamir. He was accompanied only by native-bearers, and covered the distance of about 1,800 miles in about three and a half months. He discovered between Boraidah and Jaufalamir a hitherto untravelled route.

Turkish Boy Scouts.—The Boy Scout movement has taken hold in Turkey, and an English instructor has for some time past been training troop leaders. The movement has official support, and aims at the scientific military preparation of Ottoman youths.

THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

The anniversary meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at 22, Albemarle Street, on May 26, 1914, with Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband in the chair.

The HON. SECRETARY read the Report of the Council for 1913-14 as follows :

ANNUAL REPORT.

The Session of 1913-14 was opened on December 10, 1913, with a paper entitled "A Visit to Mongolia," by Mr. E. Manico Gull. Other papers were read as follows :

January 14, 1914 : "Persian Family Life," by Miss Ella Sykes.

February 17 : "Reflections on China and Japan," by G. Lowes Dickinson.

March 14 : "Six Months in the Tian Shan Mountains," by C. Howard Bury.

April 1 : "Mongolia: Its Economic and Political Aspect," by Captain Otter Barry.

May 26 : "Sir Alfred Lyall and the Anglo-Russian Entente," by Sir Mortimer Durand.

An important step has been taken during the last Session in increasing the size, and we hope the usefulness, of the Society's publications. Hitherto the Society circulated its Proceedings among its members. The Council have now decided to issue a small journal, which will contain not only the papers read before the Society, but also lists of recent books on the East, notes on recent explorations, etc., as well as short articles by members and others. The Council hope to issue four parts in each year, and two of these are already in the hands of members. It is hoped that the increased publication will be a factor in securing additional members. The editor, Miss Hughes, to whom the Society is greatly indebted for her excellent work, will be glad to receive contributions from any member on subjects of current interest.

During the present year the Society has suffered a great loss by the death of Sir Thomas Gordon. Sir Thomas Gordon was our first President. He took an active part in the foundation of the Society, and was always keenly interested in its welfare. An obituary notice, written by Sir Mortimer Durand, will be found on page 28 of Part II. of the JOURNAL. Another founder, Mr. H. F. B. Lynch, also died during the past Session. He read a paper at the Society's inaugural meeting, and frequently took part in its proceedings.

The Society's members now number 127, as against 129 last year; the number attending General Meetings, however, have much increased. The customary statement of accounts is appended.

The recommendations of the Council for filling vacancies on the Council for the year 1914-15 are as follows : Under Rule 12 the Chairman, the Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, retires. The Council recommend his re-election. Under Rule 28, Sir Frederic Fryer, Colonel A. C. Yate, and Sir West Ridgeway retire from the Council. The Council recommend the election of Sir Frederic Fryer,

Colonel A. C. Yate, and Mr. A. L. P. Tucker. The Council also recommend that Dr. Cotterell Tupp be elected a Vice-President of the Society.

On the motion of Colonel PEMBERTON, seconded by Sir EVAN JAMES, the report was adopted, and the recommendations of the Council in respect to the election of officers were accepted.

The CHAIRMAN said that the Council proposed a slight alteration of Rule 20, in order to regularize the position of Vice-Presidents. The rule stated: There shall be a Council consisting of twelve members of the Society, exclusive of the Chairman, but inclusive of the honorary officers of the Society." It was proposed to insert after the words "inclusive of" the words "any members who have been or may be nominated as Vice-Presidents." With the addition made that day there were now seven Vice-Presidents, and if the proposal was carried they would be available for service on the Council.

Colonel A. C. YATE took exception to the proposed rule, and suggested that in adding the Vice-Presidents to the Council there should be provision for one Vice-President to retire annually by rotation, and not to be eligible for re-election until after the lapse of a year, thus adopting a principle followed by the Royal Geographical and the Royal Asiatic Societies.

After a brief discussion, in which Sir EVAN JAMES and Sir HENRY TROTTER took part, it was decided, on the suggestion of the Chairman, to refer the question back to the Council for further consideration and for subsequent reference to another general meeting.

NEW MEMBERS.

The following have been elected members of the Society: Mr. J. R. Baillie, I.C.S., retired; Lieut. G. C. Binstead, Essex Regiment; Mr. Wilson Crewdson, J.P., F.S.A.; Lieut. W. T. O. Crewdson, Royal Field Artillery; Mr. Archibald Rose, H.M.S. Consular Service, China.

CENTRAL ASIAN ACCOUNTS, 1913

RECEIPTS.			EXPENDITURE.			
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
By subscriptions—						
119 at £1 ...	119	0 0	By rent ...	...	22	0 0
4 at 16s. ...	3	4 0	By salary ...	...	25	0 0
1 in advance at £1 ...	1	0 0	<i>Proceedings</i> —			
1 " " 16s. ...	0	16 0	Printing ...	...	30	15 10
		124 0 0	Reporting ...	...	7	8 9
Miscellaneous receipts—			Press cuttings ...	...	3	8 0
Received in error ...		0 4 4				
By sales ...		3 0 0	Dinner ...	...	41	2 7
By dinner ...		3 12 6	Refund (subscription received in error) ...	...	27	5 0
		24 15 3	Miscellaneous printing, stationery, tele. phone, etc. ...	...	1	0 0
		155 12 1			5	18 6
Balance at bank, January , 1913 ...	106	4 3	Postage ...	...	6	13 1
Balance, petty cash ...	2	8 5	Petty cash, including teas, lantern, etc. ...	...	7	2 3
		108 12 8	Bank charges ...	...	0	10 9
					136	12 2
			Balance at bank, December 31, 1913 ...	125	2 0	
			Balance, petty cash ...	2	10 7	
					127	12 7
					£264	4 9

We have examined, with the books and vouchers, the accounts of the Central Asian Society for the year ending December 31, 1913, and find them correct,

E. ST. C. PEMBERTON (Colonel).
J. G. KELLY (Colonel).

March 11, 1914.

THE ANNUAL DINNER

THE CHAIRMAN (the Right Hon. Sir MORTIMER DURAND) presided at the annual dinner held at the Savoy Hotel on May 27, with Viscount Bryce, O.M., as the guest of the evening. About sixty-five members and their guests were present.

After the loyal toasts had been honoured,

Colonel Sir THOMAS HOLDICH proposed "The Central Asian Society." He said it was a comparatively small Society and a young Society, not much more than ten years old and without large funds. But although their position financially and numerically might perhaps be comparatively insignificant, their aspirations were large. They numbered amongst their members men having the right to say that they knew at first hand more about Asia than anybody could tell them in any other society. They hoped that the lectures given and the discussions thereon might have some effect on the general world of politics, and although this may not always be the case, the results of their activities might extend a little farther afield than they thought. He had himself freely used the literature of the Society in advising on questions of general and military surveying which might be expected to arise in the future, in connection with the work of other countries who had scientific aspirations similar to our own. His advice had not fallen altogether unheeded, and there was a good deal of what they had learned at the meetings of the Central Asian Society to be found afterwards in the examination records of aspirants to future military fame in England. Taken as a whole, they covered Asia in their discussions almost from one side to the other, and they watched with the keenest interest the developments of our day. China seemed just now to be enduring the throes of revolution in the search of a new dynasty, and in such circumstances they need not be altogether surprised that in the past year or so they had not received at first hand very much information about what went on there. As regarded Persia, the British Government were now committed to a direct financial interest in the oil-fields of Western Persia. This was a new departure, and one that could not fail to have effect on future British policy. The Central Asian Society would no longer have to appeal for British dominance in the Persian Gulf solely for the sake of its

position as a link on the road to India. In future British interests there would be more fully guaranteed, for Government must inevitably be committed to defending its own property. The difficulties attending this obligation had already been evidenced by what had happened in Mexico in direct connection with the production of oil. There was one feature of the contract with the Anglo-Persian Oil Company which struck him as important. Recently in the House of Commons, in answer to a question, it was stated that the military authorities would be opposed to any line of railway crossing Persia towards India unless it followed the coast. But the oil-wells in which Government had now acquired an interest were in the upland zone, at a distance from the coast, and the Navy would be entirely unable to defend them from the sea; no guns that were ever invented could possibly reach them. That fact seemed to point almost inevitably to the position of the railway being modified. Instead of following the coastline, it would have to follow the highland route. He had always considered this by far the best route that could be adopted, not only on account of the better climatic conditions, but also on account of the facility with which certain considerable trade-centres could be tapped.

In the course of his speech, Sir Thomas made passing comment on the various papers read before the Society during the session, and warmly commended the services of the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Penton, of the Treasurer, Dr. Cotterell Tupps, whose absence that evening they regretted, and of the Secretary, Miss Hughes.

The CHAIRMAN proposed the guests coupled with the name of Lord Bryce. He said that the guest of the evening had won distinction in many fields of human endeavour, in fact, in everything that he had touched, and the result was that, not only amongst his own countrymen, but wherever English was spoken or read all over the world, his name was known and honoured. Not the least of his achievements was that of travel; roaming the seven seas he made good use of his opportunities and anyone going to America, or distant British Dominions, would be well advised to take with them one or other of his books. If all Englishmen, and especially all our legislators, would approach the difficulties of Asiatic dominion with the same open mind which Lord Bryce always exhibited, and with the same careful study of facts and the same accuracy of thought, the task of Englishmen in Asia would be an easier one. If Lord Bryce had not penetrated into Central Asia, he had certainly acquired a knowledge of it, and came to them in full sympathy with their object, which was the study of all Central Asian problems, especially in their bearing upon the first interest of Great Britain in Asia—the Indian Empire.

Viscount BRYCE said he felt it a great honour and pleasure to have been invited as their guest that evening, and to find himself placed amongst many whose names as travellers and authors had long been

familiar to him, and who had given us in this country the bulk of what we knew regarding Central Asia and its many problems. In thanking their President for what he had been kind enough to say, he desired to mention that he could not have written what he had written upon India but for the ready help of his Anglo-Indian friends. It was his good fortune twenty-six years ago to go to India, and to receive from many friends in the civil and military services information and suggestions which had been matters of reflection to him ever since, and which helped him to observe world history in a way which would have been impossible if he had not seen India with its wonderful diversities of races and conditions, and with its Western civilization superimposed upon ancient Eastern civilizations. He would like to say what a debt everyone who had studied Indian problems owed to the late Sir Alfred Lyall, who was connected with their Society from its inception. They knew from the admirable biography of their President what Sir Alfred was, and how much he had contributed to elucidate problems of India and the surrounding States. He (Lord Bryce) had the pleasure and honour of Sir Alfred's acquaintance for thirty years, and he never talked with him ten minutes without going away, not only with new facts, but with new ideas. He was one of the brightest ornaments of the British services who had gone to India, and his name would always hold its place in the illustrious roll of the many distinguished members of those services.

In reference to a remark which fell from the Chair, he had to confess that he had not been in Central Asia; but at any rate he had been all round it. He had approached it from the west at Tiflis and Erivan, from the north in Siberia at Lake Baikal and the Altai Mountains, from the east along the great Wall of China, and from the south at Peshawar. He had never got across the intervening spaces, but he still cherished the hope that he might have the chance of seeing the two most interesting cities in Central Asia—Samarkand and Bokhara. No one could go round Central Asia and approach it from so many sides without feeling how full it was of interesting problems. He was not surprised that they had founded what might almost be called a new branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, in the conviction that Central Asia and its problems were quite enough to occupy the labours of one Society. In the first place the physical phenomena were of the highest possible interest. The climatic problems it presented and the other physical conditions which had so affected its life and had turned the well-peopled areas of former times into inhospitable deserts, set before the geographer a great variety of matters for inquiry which deserved far more investigation than they had yet received. And how much more was this the case in regard to its contribution to history. Central Asia was the great dim background which in ancient and medieval times was a source of awe and terror to the peoples to the west and south. One of the first things of which we read in the Greek historians was a great inroad of Scythians

which overwhelmed the Median Empire not long before the times of Croesus and Cyrus, and by which the civilized peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean were at one moment threatened with ruin. When one passed along the confines of Central Asia, one felt that an interesting continuance of the ancient conditions was to be found in the existence of the nomad tribes such as Kalmuks and Kirghiz, which still roamed over its wastes. But for the most part, the Mongols of to-day were inoffensive shepherds tending their flocks, and it was strange to think of them as the descendants of tribes who affrighted the ancient world and who poured a flood of invasion into Europe as late as the thirteenth century, when in the days of the Emperor Frederick the Second they were repelled from Silesia. There was little now to suggest that these peaceful primitive herdsmen were the sons of the terrible Mongol warriors of old time. The historical problems connected with their former kingdoms had been rendered more interesting by the fuller knowledge we were obtaining, and great light had been lately thrown upon them by the explorations of Aurel Stein. His discoveries had confirmed the view that the influence of Greek art on the East, traces of which could be found not only in Northern India, but as far away as Japan, must be examined in connection with the relations of the Seleucid and Parthian kings with Central Asia. It could not be forgotten that these historical problems gradually passed over into the political problems of to-day. He hoped he might be permitted to study some of the papers bearing on these matters which had been laid before the Society, for no doubt they would throw a good deal of light upon questions which might come up for solution at any time in Parliament.

He might take this opportunity of submitting some few impressions he had recently derived from travelling round the northern and eastern sides of Central Asia. In the north he was much impressed with the rapid growth of Russian wealth and power. The immigrants from European Russia had in South-Western Siberia an enormous stretch of fertile territory. Nearly all of it was still pasture-land, producing great quantities of butter, much of which came to this country as Danish butter, probably because the trade was chiefly in the hands of enterprising Danes. In point of fact, it was Siberian butter, and very good butter too. The country was now being settled, not quickly but steadily; pasture-lands were being brought under the plough, and within thirty or forty years it would probably have a population three or four times what it was now, and would become one of the great grain-producing countries of the world. It was a country upon which the eyes of British traders ought to be fixed, for it would soon be an important market. British mining men also, capitalists and engineers, ought to know more about it, for there were valuable mineral regions west and south-west of Irkutsk, especially on the Upper Yenisei and in the Altai Mountains. Russian ways were no doubt not our ways;

difficulties arising from the systems of Russian administration had to be encountered ; but the Imperial officials would find it worth their while to facilitate the investment of foreign capital there, and he had no doubt that British capital would find a great deal of profitable employment if it were prudently directed to the right spots.

In the course of his travels he had been struck by the steady growth of the Russian influence over Northern Mongolia, all the way from Urga and Kiakhta to Yarkand and the Thian Shan. The complete subjection of the Khanates and the distracted condition of China were making it easy for her to become predominant in those large and thinly peopled regions ; and railways as well as roads were being constructed which had for the present a chiefly strategic importance, though some of them might ultimately have commercial value. A long line was projected, and likely to be undertaken, from Semipalatinsk to Tashkend, and the railroad from Barnaul to Semipalatinsk was already in course of construction. It would be of great military significance.

The fortunes of Central Asia were so interwoven with those of China that they might wish for a few remarks on the present state of things in the Chinese Empire. It was at this moment called a Republic, but in such a country there could, of course, be no Republic in the ordinary sense of the word. There were in a few Chinese cities, and especially in Canton and Peking, a certain number of young men who had been educated in European or American Universities, and a larger number educated in Japan, who had imbibed Republican ideas, and whose agitation had succeeded in overthrowing the Manchu dynasty, not by any force of their own, but because the dynasty had not a friend left and went down without a voice being lifted in its support. He supposed there never was a stranger thing in the history of the world than this downfall of an ancient and majestic line and power without voice or hand being raised on its behalf by any section whatever of the nation. But to put in the vacant place an effective Republic was a very different affair, and certainly there was nothing in existence now that could be truly called a Republic. The present régime was a mere dictatorship resting on the army. One might wish to see the emergence of a new dynasty, winning for itself the respect and reverence which once belonged to the Manchu rulers, and establishing a stronger and juster rule than theirs had latterly been. But of that there did not seem to be any immediate prospect. Yuan-shi-kai might be able to maintain himself in power as long as he found the money to pay the troops, but would probable be obliged to raise fresh loans, and who was to come after him ? It was to be remembered that the provinces of China had very little connection with one another. If the Central Government were to collapse, any provincial Governor of strength and resourcefulness might be able to assert his independence if only he could scrape enough money together. Thus

there would be established a group of practically independent dominions, and we might see China broken up as she was more than 2,000 years ago. This would mean a great deal of dislocation of trade, and a great deal of bloodshed and suffering for the people. How far it could be prevented by the action of foreign Powers he could not now and here attempt to discuss. The best course might probably be for the Powers to endeavour to prevent a scramble for China among themselves, and to support, if they could do so by any proper means, the Central Government, so as to give it every chance to keep the country together.

As he surveyed the large theatre of Central Asia, he felt that this country would owe a debt of gratitude to the Society for the information it could supply upon grave problems which were likely to become not less, but perhaps even more, urgent and important during the next few years. It was not merely now a question of India (although India must continue to be the centre of our Asiatic interests), but it was also a question of our position in the Persian Gulf, and even perhaps in the Mediterranean. Nor could we view with unconcern the course of events in Syria. He had found in that country, from which he had just returned, a great deal of uneasiness, for Turkish power there, as everywhere, was in the most unstable condition. Thus there were a great variety of questions which might have to be solved within the next fifteen or twenty years. The Society would have a field of real usefulness open to it if it would continue to promote the careful study of these questions by papers and discussions. It would thus help in the formation and guidance of public opinion, and the country would be the better prepared to face these problems as they arose.

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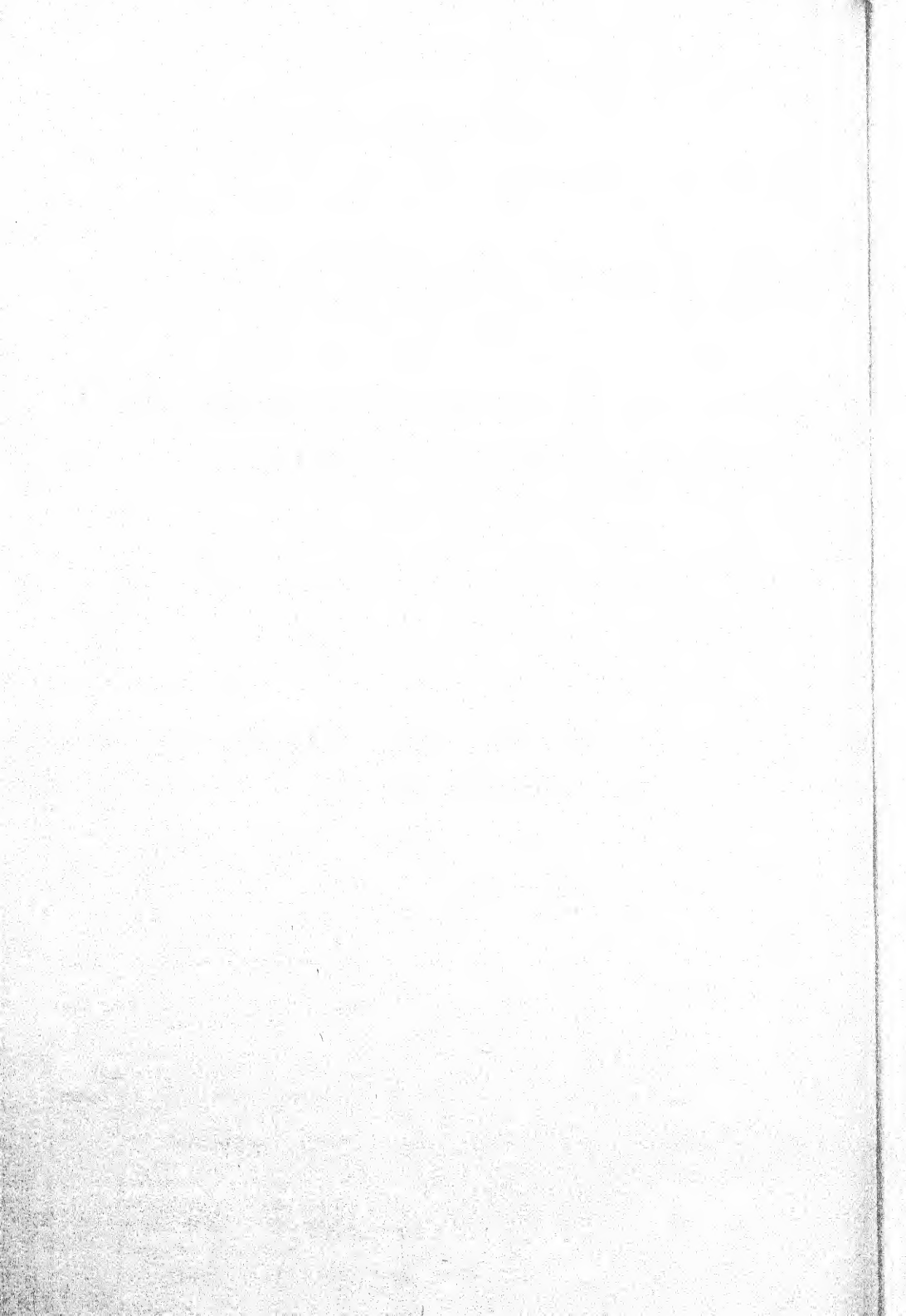
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THE GREAT WAR AND THE MIDDLE EAST*

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE

ON the first occasion on which I had the honour of lecturing before this Society, I was moved to traverse the sentiment of a familiar couplet penned by Mr. Rudyard Kipling :

“East is East and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet.”

My theme, then, was the germ of what promised to become a great Trans-Continental Railway. To-day it is a World-wide War. Be it railway or be it war, both alike draw East and West into so intimate a union that the wit of man cannot detect the line of parting. Take any meridian you like, and name to me the land or sea which is not drawn into or affected by this war. In North America it reaches from Newfoundland to Vancouver Island ; in the Pacific, Japan and Australasia come in ; hostile cruisers infest the Indian seas ; India sends its troops by Perim, the Suez Canal, and the Mediterranean to the Western theatre of war ; Russia, drawing her troops alike from Eastern Siberia and the Central Asian Khanates, faces Germany and Austria in Eastern Prussia, Galicia, and Poland ; while the Atlantic is alive with British men-of-war, British and Canadian troop transports, and an occasional German cruiser. The war girdles the globe, and for all that concerns it, East and West are one. There was a time when the twain were far apart—when it was the East that played the rôle of octopus, and stretched its mighty, far-reaching tentacles westward. In those days, in the East were great nations, great monarchies—Assyria, Babylonia, Chaldæa, Persia, Media, Parthia, Egypt, China, India, Phœnicia. Their arts, sciences, religions, literature, commerce, industries, and military and naval power made their mark upon the West. Greece more especially came under their influence, and Grecian art and literature later dominated Rome. The traces of the earliest maritime intercourse between the mariners of Arabia, Africa, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf, and those of India, Indo-China, China, and Japan are, I believe,

* Read on November 11, 1914, the Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand in the chair. The paper was completed on the very day on which Turkey committed its first overt act of hostility against the three allied Powers—Great Britain, France, and Russia.

lost in the unstable sands of Time. With the rise of Islam, Arab sailors revived, if revival were needed, commerce between the Levant and the East. Right or wrong, the origin of the use of the compass has been traced to China. But prior to Islam, the hordes of Tartary were pressing westward and landing nomad millions upon the eastern steppes of Europe, watered by the Tanais, the Borysthenes, the Ister, and other mighty rivers—millions which, as Huns, Goths, Franks, Vandals, and Lombards, have inseparably associated themselves with the downfall of the Roman Empire—an Empire which, in the centuries immediately preceding and following the dawn of the Christian era, had transferred the centre of the world's civilization from the banks of the Tigris and the Indus to those of the Tiber, and later to the shores of the Bosphorus. The Nile never seems to have lost its hold on its civilization, its art, and its scholarship. To the Athenian school succeeded the Alexandrian, and to the Alexandrian the Arab, when Cairo would seem to have done more to keep alive the science and scholarship of Greece than all the Schools of Europe combined. The Ottoman Power was still at the height of its vigour, and the Tartar hordes still dominated a great part of European Russia, when the initiative seemed to pass from the East into the hands of the West. Indirectly, this movement may have been actuated by the Renaissance; but directly, I think, we must trace it to the discoveries of the great navigators, Vasco da Gama, Albuquerque, Columbus, Prince Henry of Portugal, the Cabots, and the later English and Spanish explorers—Gilbert, Hawkins, Drake, Pizarro, Cortez, Magellan, and others. It is impossible to influence spheres to which access is unattainable; and to these navigators the means of access from Europe both to the East and to the West were due. Europe soon made its influence felt, for evil as much as for good, as Central and South America bear undying witness. Ere the close of the fifteenth century, or very early in the sixteenth, the notorious Borgia, Pope Alexander VI., had issued his celebrated Bull, dividing the unknown seas and lands of the globe between Spain and Portugal. Concurrently with that we find Ferdinand and Isabella in Spain; Genoa, Venice, and the Knights of Rhodes in the Levant; and Matthias Corvinus in Hungary, stemming the tide of Ottoman and Moorish inroad and conquest. It was then that the East and West exchanged rôles. The West became the octopus—admittedly, in our eyes at least, a far more enlightened and beneficent octopus than the one which loosed Tartar hordes and Moslem armies upon Europe—but still the octopus. Its unrelenting tentacles have been absorbing the wealth and sometimes draining the lifeblood of the East ever since. In return we have given to India an introduction to Western civilization, and raised her to a standard of united spirit and power of which we now reap the reward; for, in 1914, our Indian fellow-subjects rally to the flag, and come over to chastise the very

Teutons who, two thousand years ago, deserted the steppes of Central Asia for the forests of the Danube and the shores of the Baltic and North Sea.

We must not here pursue the romantic story of Portuguese, Dutch, English, and French enterprise in the Indian and Chinese Seas. Be he mariner or missionary, the emissary of the West made his relentless way. We can trace his footsteps in the Chihai-situn of Ispahan, in the Moghal palaces of Delhi, and in the environs of the Forbidden City. In 1898 the astronomical instruments made by the Jesuits—French Jesuits, I think—still stood on the walls of Peking. In 1900 German “kultur,” as personified by Marshal Count von Waldersee, came upon the scene. Those instruments are now at Berlin. When the Great War is over, the Allies will instruct Berlin to restore them to their old site. This is one of the very minor debts that Kaiser Wilhelm owes to humanity.

The entire bent of human invention in this age is towards the annihilation of space. Telegraphy, telephony, aviation, all tend that way. This great war, in which mechanical science is playing so prominent a part and revealing hitherto unheard-of resources, works in the same direction. Briton, Celt, Frank, Slav, Boer, Japanese, Sikh, Gurkha, Pathan, Baluch, and even Africans, are now fighting side by side for one common cause. *Mr. Punch* weeks ago acclaimed Kaiser Wilhelm as the great Peacemaker. At his gentle bidding, Tory and Radical, Ulsterman and Nationalist, Hindu and Musulman, Russ and Jap, Briton and Boer, peaceful picketers and “blacklegs,” capitalist and socialist, even the peace-loving, philanthropic ambulance societies, have all buried their feuds, determined as they are that the Teuton shall not ride rough-shod over the other great races of the world. He has roused East and West—the West above all, and no part of the West more than Great Britain herself—out of a dull, unhealthy lethargy superinduced by long immunity from war and from the danger of invasion. When I see the British Empire responding to the call of their King-Emperor, made at the instance of Lord Kitchener, to raise an army of a million men, my first thought is one of thankfulness that our great enemy, the German Emperor, the monarch who embraced our King but a few years ago by the side of all that was mortal of his uncle King Edward VII., lying in Westminster Hall, has been the man fated to endorse Lord Roberts’s counsel to the nation. The monarch who despised our army shall make it. These islands, with their traditional apprehension of, and prejudice against, a large standing army, will learn now that a National Force of a million men is neither impossible nor superfluous; and the precedent thus created will, we trust, endure. My second thought runs in the channel which is indicated by the title of this lecture—viz., the influence which this war promises to exercise on the Middle East. Often have I won-

dered whether Persia is as doomed as Sodom and Gomorrah, or whether that land of ancient fame *can* produce one good man. A well-known Russian diplomat is credited with saying: "There's not a *man* in Persia." The retort was: "No! There are men, but Russia gives them no chance." There is a moratorium just now for Persia. Can she not take advantage of it? Finance, administration, army, moral tone—can no reformer take these in hand? It is Persia's only chance. We value Russia very highly as our ally in this great war, but her treatment of Persia since the Convention of 1907 rankles in many of our minds. Oppression seems to me the only, and that a mild, word for it. We may cavil at Teutonic "*kultur*," but when we reflect on the action of Russian agents during the past few years in Azerbaijan we find that the Muscovite also takes elastic views of culture and humanity. The Teuton, however, admittedly, has revived the methods, and worse than the methods, of the Thirty Years' War.

The welfare, however, of the British Empire in the Middle East turns not so much upon the destiny of Persia as upon that of India. This war has alienated several prominent politicians in England, although it has won the acquiescence of a noted man of peace, Mr. Carnegie. I think it must have been a surprise, and a pleasure, to us all when we read in our daily papers that Mr. Tilak, a noted Indian malcontent, had openly advocated the fullest and most loyal support of the British and Indian Governments during this great crisis. The unanimous loyalty of the Indian Princes and of the Indian Army can only cause us the deepest thankfulness and gratification. If this war has tested the United Kingdom, it has no less tested India and the Colonies. We can view with pride the issue of that test, even in South Africa. There, with the support of our ancient ally, Portugal, we will still triumph over German foe and rebel Boer. Many of us can look back upon the time when Mr. Goldwin Smith was prophesying, if not advocating, the union of Canada with the United States. Who dreams of talking of that now? Then consider India. Our Indian Army, embodying all the famous fighting classes of that great peninsula, is now fighting in France, in Turkish Arabia, in Africa, and also defending Egypt. The casualty list to-day speaks for itself. The Imperial Service troops are to the fore, and those Princes who have not been able to come themselves or to send troops, have contributed most generously to the expenses of the war. The loyalty of the vast Hindu population of India affects, practically, India alone. The Mahomedan population of India—some 70 millions—reacts upon the entire Mahomedan world. Approximately the Muslims of India represent one-third of the Muslims of the world, and, in point of intellect and enlightenment, may claim an influence fully equal to their numbers. The halo of the birthplace of Islam rests on Mecca, and the glory of the Caliphate to-day on Constantinople; but behind the Mahomedan

subjects of our King lies the whole might of the British Empire. If ever a great Musliman confederacy is to be formed, my own feeling is that it must be done with the fullest sympathy and support from the British Government and nation. What is the meaning of Turkish sympathy with Germany? Fear of Russia and uncertainty about Great Britain. I think the day may come when Britain may stand forth as the Champion of Islam. Professor Vambery adumbrated some such issue; and some leading Mahommedan thinkers, we have reason to believe, are not averse to it. Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan, in alliance with the Muslims of India—and if with them, then with the British Empire—that is an entente that might make any Power, however vast, halt and meditate. It is within the bounds of possibility that such an entente may prove to be one of the results of this war. There are Muslims who say that in 1885, when England and Russia were on the verge of war, England should have united Islam—i.e., Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Egypt, and India—in a war against the great Slav power. But Turkey at that time was very sore, almost as sore as France, over the very recent British occupation of Egypt; while the Berlin Conference had not only reconciled British and Russian interests, but also introduced the Sultan to the amenities of Prussian political influence. For the last quarter of a century, I think we may say, Germany has posed as Turkey's best friend. The issue of the Balkan War we have seen; the present one involves grave issues for Turkey, as for all the Powers engaged in it.

I remember, years ago, hearing someone describe the first interview of the Emperor William the Second with the Sultan Abdul Hamid. Probably the scene is fictitious and merely depicted as characteristic of the man. After the usual exchange of courtesies, the Emperor proceeded to enlarge upon his own plans for the improvement of the Sultan's dominions—a splendid network of railways from the Sea of Marmora to Asia Minor, Syria, and Turkish Arabia; an elaborate scheme of improved harbour accommodation in the Levant; a nice little establishment for the Johanniter Orden at Jerusalem; and last, but not least, a Bank to find the money—*und so weiter*. When this magnificent programme had been set forth, His Majesty the Sultan, somewhat breathless at such a transformation scene, was allowed no time to recover his breath. The Emperor continued: And now, your Imperial Majesty, I have present here with me the very financiers, the very engineers, who are best qualified to carry into effect these projects, and I would solicit Your Majesty to be so gracious as to grant them an audience. The Sultan was overwhelmed. The audience was granted, and, as we all know now, bank, railways, harbours, knights, have all found a home in Turkey. In the background, too, were a Germanized Army and Navy. “*Si non è vero è ben trovato*.” We people in the street have been much perplexed at the confidence with which all

Powers and all Potentates concerned in this War have appealed to God Almighty. We may at least admit, in the case of the Emperor William, that "God *may* help those who help themselves."*

Although my theme be the Middle East, I cannot avoid a reference to the capital, situate though it be in Europe, of an Empire which on the east, borders on our Indian possessions and protectorates. Even now we have been disputing about British and Turkish rights in the Shat-el-Arab; and, as all know, Great Britain has insisted on her free access to Basra, and the absolute right to continue at her own discretion and under her own management the Baghdad Railway from Basra to Koweit. The *chef-lieu* of Ottoman power and prestige is Constantinople, and on Constantinople not only the Muscovite and the Teuton, but the Greek and the Bulgarian, if no one else, have their eyes and ambitions riveted. Each is prepared to "jockey" the other, the Muscovite in the name of Pan-Slavism and the Eastern Church, the Teuton with the aid of his cat's-paw Austria, the Bulgarian as being most adjacent, and the Greek because, confident on the opposition of Europe to Muscovite and Teuton aims, she hopes to step in under the ægis of that spirit of compromise which, as it elects Presidents and Popes, can also elect a *cessionnaire*. For my own part my sympathies are entirely with Greece. Great Britain wishes neither Russia nor Germany to dominate the Dardanelles. By the verdict of all history and tradition the Greek should return to what was the Eastern Capital of the Roman Empire, a memory still enshrined in the Turkish name "Rum."†

It must surely have often occurred to those who have studied the relations between Russia on the one hand and Turkey and Persia on the other, to inquire why these two Moslem Powers have never united to oppose the Colossus of the North. Allow that the hate of Shia for Sunni is a barrier, still the fear of the overpowering common enemy might surely have availed to induce the twain to settle their frontier and religious disputes and sink their differences, and present a common front to the common foe. All precedent, however, seems to show that Turkey and Persia will not form an alliance. Turkey might well have supported Persia in 1828, when Russia deprived Fath Ali Shah of the Caucasus, and, later, the Crimean War gave Persia a chance of joining forces with Turkey, and driving Russia back to the north of the Elburz. But neither moved. In fact, events showed that at that time England

* The Kaiser has helped himself already—liberally, unscrupulously. Among the notorious General von Bernhardt's latest works is "Britain as Germany's Vassal." We infer from this that the Kaiser looks to Britain for his "second help."

† The *Spectator* of November 14, 1914, strongly supported Russia's claim to Constantinople. What constitutes the *Spectator* Russia's advocate is not known. In the interests of Europe and by all the claims of history and tradition and race, Greece should have Constantinople, and, possibly, will have it.

had little influence at Teheran ; for scarcely was the Crimean War over than the Shah of Persia, instigated by Russia, despatched an army to besiege Herat. Sir James Outram's force, landed at Bushire, put a stop to that enterprise—the revenge that Russia sought to take for the fall of Sebastopol, just as in 1878 it avenged the Berlin Conference by Stolietoff's mission to Amir Sher Ali Khan at Kabul. The vengeance of '78 was more potent than that of '56.

The steady disintegration of the Mahommedan Powers under Russian, French, Italian, and German agency, while England has rather acted as a brake upon each rival, moved only to spasmodic action in the hour of emergency, must strike all who study the history of the Middle East during the last seventy-five years. We cannot look back now upon the first and second Afghan Wars without realizing that they cost us very dearly for all we gained by them. Afghanistan, in consequence, stands at this moment the most independent of all Mahommedan monarchies, and our very circumspect ally. For the rest, our Russian rival has annexed all Central Asia to the Oxus, the Pamirs, and the western frontier of China, controls the so-called Russian sphere in Persia as laid down by the Convention of 1907, and has virtually assumed the administration of Azerbaijan. Furthermore, Russia, after connecting her Central Asian capital, Tashkent, by rail with the Caspian and Orenburg on the west, with Andijan on the east, and Termez on the Oxus to the south, is already planning to link the Trans-Caspian with the Trans-Siberian Railway system. Lord Bryce, in the after-dinner speech which he made at the last Annual Dinner of our Society, referred to this project, and to Mr. Howard Bury we are indebted for a more definite description of it in his lecture of March 11 last. Mr. Bury says: "In a few years' time a railway is to be built from near Kabul-sai, a station north of Tashkent, through Chimkent and Aulié-ata to Pispek. Local gossip estimated the time of completion at from two to five years ; the latter estimate would be the most accurate, I should think. From Pispek the line is to be produced to Verny, and then on to Kopal and Semipalatinsk, and eventually to Barnaul," on the Obi. There is steamboat communication from Semipalatinsk, via the Irtysh, to Omsk (about 450 miles), and from Barnaul, via the Obi, to Novo-Nikolaevsk (about 200 miles), both termini being on the Trans-Siberian Railway. Sooner or later, we presume, the railway will be continued from Barnaul to a junction with the Trans-Siberian line. Siberia grows daily in population and resources, and, as Mr. Howard Bury pointed out, is encouraging Russian colonists to settle in the Semipalatinsk and Semirechensk provinces. Allowing, then, that things go on as they are going on, when this Great War, in which, as far as we can foresee, the Triple Entente and their Allies will be the conquerors, comes to an end, Russia's southern frontier in Asia will extend from Lake Urmia,

including Azerbaijan, along the south shore of the Caspian to Bosaga, on the Oxus, and thence to the spot "where three Empires meet," as settled by the Pamirs' Boundary Commission of 1896, under General Gerard and Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich. It is perfectly easy for anyone with this explanation to see how in future years Russia can threaten Afghanistan and India with all the military resources of her vast Euro-Asian possessions, including, probably, Mongolia, which is now gradually being Russicized.

Again, in completing our enumeration of the factors of the future, we cannot overlook the Trans-Persian Railway, which four years ago I spoke of as "a fascinating project." Time, I regret to say, has worn much of the varnish of fascination off it. I gather from the last pronouncements made in our Parliament by the representatives of the Foreign Office, in response to requests for information made by Earl Curzon of Kedleston, Colonel C. E. Yate, Dr. Dillon, Mr. George Lloyd, and others, that my original conception of a great International, and possibly, in the end, Trans-Continental Railway, was from the outset rendered impracticable under the terms—I might almost say, perhaps, the secret clauses—of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. Those of us who have studied this subject remember the prominence given in the original Russian prospectus to the *International* character of this railway, and to the fact that it was to be an "*Anglo-Russian*" railway. That gradually fizzled out. It has become, from the point of view of construction, equipment, and control, a purely Russian line, built by Russians on the Russian gauge, and that, I believe, was settled in 1907 or soon after. From the point of view of finance, it has become an Anglo-Franco-Russian project, because, I presume, Russia requires French money to carry out its schemes. When we reflect on the enormous revenue—over £300,000,000 sterling—of the Russian Empire, this need of appeal to France for money is surprising. Again, when we reflect that Indian troops were sent to Bushire, Shiraz, and Ispahan, and that British blood was poured out to keep that country, we cannot possibly feel satisfied that the country so defended should remain the Neutral Sphere, and be open to Russian enterprises on terms not equal to, but more favourable than, our own. Apparently our Foreign Office tied its own hands before 1911, and cannot untie them. The Russian promoters of the Trans-Persian Railway have never from the very first hesitated to talk openly of the "Russian port on the Persian Gulf." They coveted Chahbar, but will at least have to content themselves with Bandar Abbas, unless in the meantime some change comes over the spirit of the Foreign Office dream. Great Unionist statesmen have denounced in the clearest terms the concession of a port to Russia on the Persian Gulf. Popular as success in this Great War, thanks in part to the loyalty of the Unionist party, will, and that justly, render Mr. Asquith's Government, the British nation can give credit where credit is due.

It is impossible to conceive, judging by all historical precedent, that the sequel of this Great War can be other than an International Congress, which will rearrange frontiers and powers and rights not only in Europe, but in all Five Continents. I venture, therefore, to hope that one happy issue of this war may be the preservation of the independence of Persia. I confess it is almost a forlorn hope, but I decline to abandon it. Mr. Lovat Fraser some years ago in the *Edinburgh Review* pooch-pooched the preservation of Persia when set in the balance against securing for Great Britain the alliance of Russia in the event of war with Germany. I still think that Mr. Fraser's estimate of the value of the British alliance to Russia was too low. When later Mr. Fraser propounded in the *National Review* certain ideas as to Lord Beaconsfield's action in regard to the Suez Canal Shares and the Euphrates Valley Railway, which did not seem to me based on fact, the editor of that *Review* kindly allowed me to say my say upon the question. I was really prompted to do so by a letter which I received from a friend, and which ran thus:

"I did tell you about Lord Beaconsfield's schemes, and I think the dates will prove that Mr. Lovat Fraser is wrong. The purchase of the Suez Canal Shares was completed in February, 1876. The 'lease' of Cyprus* was signed in June (I think that was the month), 1878. I was staying with Lord Lytton in the early eighties (? 1883 or 1884), and we were talking about Cyprus, and he told me that Dizzy had taken it to form a sort of *tête de pont* for his Euphrates Railway Scheme. I went to the India Office and heard this confirmed. Gladstone knocked the scheme on the head."

German capital and enterprise has, as we know, almost completed the railway "knocked on the head" by Mr. Gladstone's Government; while out of the purchase of the Suez Canal Shares has grown our present commanding position in Egypt and on the waterway which connects East and West. At this moment that position is invaluable to us. No wonder that Germany is egging on Turkey to attack us there. It is a point that we must hold with the utmost tenacity. Fourteen thousand British troops hold it, said a recent telegram from Constantinople. More likely 40,000 and a Fleet. That canal is of more vital importance to us than the issues on the Persian Gulf of either the Baghdad or the Trans-Persian Railways. On those railways we must, as far as I can foresee, be content with fair commercial privileges. If Russia imports thousands of tons of Indian tea annually, via Bandar Abbas, so much the better for India and Persia. We shall welcome back the Belgian Customs officers to collect the revenue on that tea. Between the British Isles and the Overseas Dominions the

* Lord Beaconsfield's "leasehold" has, within the last few days, become Mr. Asquith's "freehold." (November 11, 1914.—A. C. Y.)

Suez Canal must remain the channel of communication as long as the British Empire stands firm.

If our Foreign Office has but imperfectly protected Persia, it has insisted on safeguarding Afghanistan as far as possible from Russian railway encroachment. Still, there stand at Afghanistan's doors two railways, one at Kushk, fifty miles north of Herat, one at Termes, a few miles from Mazar-i-Sharif; and a third may ere long be threatening the western approach to Herat. Afghanistan has been perfectly quiet since the war began. One of those organs of the Press which enjoys the confidence of Viceroys and Princes informed the world soon after the commencement of the War that the Viceroy of India had written to the Amir, and in a friendly way counselled him to keep quiet. To that unimpeachable bit of advice, the journalist continued, the Amir had replied that that was precisely what he intended to do. None the less, we hear that Constantinople is tampering with him. Can we see any reasonable opening to encourage him to take offensive action against any one of his neighbours? Afghanistan borders upon the British dominions in India, upon the Russian possessions in Central Asia, and upon Persia, which is now practically under an Anglo-Russian protectorate. What possible motive, consistent with his own ultimate advantage, could the Amir have for seeking to disturb the peace of these territories? To whichever side the Amir may turn, he meets the overwhelming power either of Great Britain or of Russia. As matters now stand, the independence and stability of his kingdom are best secured by his maintaining a strictly neutral attitude between these two Powers. The British Government has long maintained that Afghanistan must be regarded as outside the sphere of Russian influence. Under the Convention of 1907, Russia has pledged herself to respect that understanding. If Afghanistan cannot, either during or as a sequel to this war, see any hope of enlarging her territories, she has before her a clear prospect of development and progress. Sooner or later her rulers must abandon the policy of absolute isolation. If the Amir seeks an example of a small State encompassed by powerful neighbours which throws open all its resources to the world, and by so doing nets a prodigious revenue and at the same time guards rigidly its independence, let him take Switzerland. Europe guarantees Switzerland. England and Russia guarantee Afghanistan. If the Amir would emulate Switzerland, let him open his frontiers, construct railways, welcome the globe-trotter, and who can say—may not lugeing, tobogganing, ski-ing, mountaineering, prove as attractive on the Hindu Kush as on the Alps? Ere many years are past, we shall see Sir Henry Lunn building and monopolizing all the best hotels from the Kohistan to the Parapomusis, and organizing personally conducted tours over the Trans-Caspian, Trans-Persian, and Trans-Siberian Railways to the Buddhist relics of Bamian and the tragical scenes of the First and Second

Afghan Wars. Bordering on the Hindu Kush we have the Pamirs, the home of the *Ovis Ammon*, *Ovis Poli*, and other joys of the sportsman's rifle. We hear little to-day of the Alpine chamois, except that chamois so vividly depicted in Mark Twain's "Tramp Abroad." Game must be sought farther afield. Kashmir has already been forced to introduce very stringent game laws, and we can clearly foresee that the time is not far distant when even on the "Roof of the World" the hardy and daring sportsman will have to be limited to a certain number of heads. As it is somewhere there that three Empires meet, we shall require International Anglo-Russo-Chinese Game Laws. Sport, like science, annihilates space.

If only Persia could have produced at this juncture such a man as the late Amir Abdurrahman Khan, the plight of Persia would not be what it is to-day. I will not believe that there is no genius, no chivalry, no grandeur of character, no indomitable energy and strength and perseverance to be found among the people who are the heirs of the glorious traditions embodied in the Shah-Nama and handed down to us by Herodotus, Xenophon, and the Persian poets. If Persia were placed for a period under a British protectorate, there are able men in India of Persian descent who might be appointed to the Regency of the kingdom, the present young Shah being kept in tutelage until he had proved himself capable of government. The difficulties that would environ such a Regency are obvious enough. The Convention of 1907, moreover, prohibits it. The ancient rivalry of "Iran" and "Turan" was two thousand years ago what the rivalry of Slav and Teuton, Frank and German, is to-day. The Russian, closely allied as he is to the Tartar, is heir of the Turanian tradition. The sun of "Iran" seems to be sinking, and that of "Turan" rising.

Whatever be the fate of Persia and Afghanistan, this war submits our Indian Empire to a searching and far-reaching test. I refrain from repeating what our great Dailies and the *Asiatic*, *Empire*, and other reviews have already said. I am only disappointed that the picturesque Shan, Kachin, Karen, and Burmese princes who figured at the Durbars of 1903 and 1911 have not taken part in this display to Europe of the military resources of the Indian Empire. Let this their absence be an incentive to them. Let them follow in the footsteps of their Mongol kin, the Chinese and Japanese, follow swiftly in their footsteps, embrace Western civilization, train their troops to disciplined manoeuvres, aviation, long-range guns, and 15-inch shells (see Selfridge's), and then let them, too, stand side by side with Briton, Baluch, Sikh, Rajput, Punjabi, Hindustani, and Gurkha. India is a mighty empire within a mighty Empire; and if we are to have Home Rule within Home Rule next door to us, we shall also doubtless live to see it in our vast possessions in the Middle East.

The more we think over the influence of this great European War

upon Asia—for really it is impossible to entirely disconnect Middle from Near and Far East—the more we see what vast issues are involved. Reflect for one instant on the ambitions of Russia, the champion of Panslavism and the persistent seeker of ports of outlet to the great oceans; on those of Germany demanding colonies commensurate with her population, industry, resources, and warlike strength; on Austria, bent on a Balkan supremacy and an *Ægean* seaboard; on Italy and Greece, each seeking aggrandisement in the Levant; and finally on Teutonism meditating, in defiance of the Slav, the occupation of Constantinople, the domination of Asia Minor, Turkish Arabia, and Syria, and the expulsion of the British from Egypt. The realization of these and many other aspirations rests upon the issue of this present War. It is a theme, in short, suited not to a brief lecture, but to the pen of some future Raleigh or Rollin.

MR. AMEER ALI: I came here to listen rather than to ask questions. I desire to express my appreciation of Colonel Yate's lecture, which is a brilliant survey of the present political situation in Europe and in Asia. He has given us many historical facts of great importance in relation to the events that are passing before our eyes. There is one noticeable feature in his lecture for which I think he deserves a great deal of praise, and that is that he has for the most part abstained from yielding to the temptation to prophesy. We are met here to-day under the shadow of the greatest calamity that has afflicted the world for centuries. The spectacle of the greatest nations of Europe warring with each other under our modern conditions of warfare is not an inspiring sight. This conflict between nations supposed to be in the forefront of civilization is enough to make the people of less advanced countries sick of civilization. I must say that the one prophecy in which Colonel Yate has indulged of seeing Afghanistan opened up to casinos and café-chantants and all the other blessings which go along with "civilization" does not appeal to me. I shall deplore the day when the Ameers of Kabul throw open their country to the blessings of what is called civilization, and I hope that it will be long delayed.

While we lie under the dark shadow which hangs over us it is impossible to peer into futurity; we do not know exactly the greatness of the changes that may lie before us. Colonel Yate has given expression to a sentimental hope that Constantinople, after this war, will be given to the Greeks. It is only for my own information that I venture to ask him one or two questions; I am not criticizing his view, nor offering any opinion on politics or anything approaching it. I am neither a politician, nor a statesman, nor a scholar; I am a mere student of history. But I venture to ask him how, and by whom, is Constantinople to be given to the Greeks? How is that blissful consummation to be effected? We all know that for centuries our great

Ally, who is helping us so greatly in the Eastern theatre of war, has fixed her ambition on Constantinople. The madness of the clique which has launched Turkey into the vortex of this war has furnished an opportunity for our great Ally to satisfy the aspirations of centuries. Who is there to balk her of the fulfilment of this great ambition? Who is to gainsay her in the attempt? Then there is another question which suggests itself to me as a student of history. No one has read Eastern history better than our lecturer. Does his reading justify the hope that if Constantinople falls into the hands of the Greeks it will bring the blessings of peace in Western Asia, or, for the matter of that, in Eastern Europe? No one need do more than read the pages of Gibbon to give an answer to that question. But perhaps the lecturer, who certainly is a keen observer of events in that part of the world, may be able to satisfy that the fears that this would not promote permanent peace in Western Asia or Eastern Europe are not justified. No one condemns more the madness of that clique in Turkey which has launched her into the war with Great Britain and her Allies than the Mussulmans of India. They consider it a betrayal not only of the trust which their country reposed in the Turkish Government, but of the trust which the whole Mussulman world reposed in them. The clique has sacrificed its nation and Empire at the malignant instigation of a malignant foreign Power. To launch Turkey into such a war on such grounds seems to me to constitute one of the saddest chapters in the history of the Near East.

But my interest is in the great Empire of Britain. We Indian Moslems are British citizens, and we love the British Empire. The question which arises is this, and I ask it only for information, not by way of comment or criticism, What will be the effect of the destruction or effacement of the Turkish Empire on the great British Empire in the East? Will it have the effect of strengthening that Empire? And what will be the position regarding our relations with the nations which inhabit Western Asia? Will the establishment of another great Power on the Dardanelles, probably the greatest after our own, strengthen our influence in the Eastern Mediterranean, or our control of the Suez Canal?

These are questions which require reflection and consideration by the best statesmanship that we possess. Speaking again as a student of history, I think that the British statesmen who look ahead will probably consider that the work of reconstruction of a broken and derelict Empire will be of more interest to the British Empire than the work of destruction, which may commend itself to some other Powers. (Cheers.)

COLONEL YATE: I was aware from private conversation that Syed Ameer Ali entertained the views he had expressed. He said I had wisely abstained from prophecy, and I had better conserve his good

opinion in this respect. I have not the smallest idea of what the issue of this war will be in respect to Constantinople, but I hope the control will not fall to Russia. I do not want to see a great Slav Power brought down to the Dardanelles, and that will be the case unless the Greeks acquire it or Turkey retains it. We know that the interests of the other Balkan States are Slav interests, and that they are intimately bound up with those of Russia. We know that England for a long time has dreaded the possible effects of a great naval Power acting through the Dardanelles in the Mediterranean on our communications with India and the East. Therefore I would at least venture to hope that when this great international rearrangement comes off, England will be able to make a firm stand against Slav acquisition, if it is deemed necessary for Constantinople to pass into other hands. I do not myself know that this is necessary. We know that Turkey has committed a very grave error in being led into this war, but it may possibly be to our interests to palliate that stupidity as far as we can.

The CHAIRMAN: Colonel Yate has given us a remarkably eloquent and comprehensive lecture, and I think you will all agree that he deserves our warm thanks. (Cheers.) Colonel Yate touched upon one of the consequences of this war—the response India has made to the call—and what he said was perfectly right. All of us who are, or have been, connected with India, while greatly rejoicing at the enthusiasm of her answer, have not been in the smallest degree surprised at it. Some two or three years ago I was asked to deliver some lectures at Cambridge on the subject of the British connection with India, and I pointed out then what the military position was—that we were facing all possible enemies with an army of which two-thirds, or nearly three-fourths, consisted of Indian troops. I said that in my opinion the confidence we thus showed in our Indian soldiers was well-founded, because they had proved themselves to be loyal, and fine fighting men. In 1885, when we were on the verge of war with Russia, the feeling shown in India was exactly the feeling that is being shown to-day. The ruling chiefs came forward with offers of their contingents and their personal services; the Indian troops were longing to be led to the front; and the murmurs of sedition, such as they were, died suddenly away. Referring to this precedent, I expressed my firm belief that if we were to go to war with any European Power, the Indian troops of His Majesty would fight with splendid fidelity and courage. Holding those views before the war, I need not say that I rejoice to see what has happened now. India's eager co-operation is a fact of incalculable significance, and a painful surprise to our enemies.

TAMERLANE*

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL P. M. SYKES, C.M.G., C.I.E.,

Author of "Ten Thousand Miles in Persia," and of "The Glory of the Shia World."

WHEN I was honoured by an invitation to read an historical paper before the Central Asian Society, it struck me that the great historical figure of Central Asia was Tamerlane, whose career would consequently be of special interest to the Society. I have made a study of the Great Conqueror in connection with a *History of Persia* which I am about to publish, and this paper is, with slight adaptation, a chapter of my work.

Transoxiana in the Middle of the Fourteenth Century.—The house of Chagatay, which ruled Central Asia,† was the least distinguished of the dynasties founded by Chengiz Khan. An occasional raid into Khorasan constituted all its history so far as Persia was concerned, and during much of the time Transoxiana was in a state of anarchy. In A.H. 746 (1345) Kazan Khan, the Western Chagatay ruler, having provoked a rebellion by his cruelty, the nobles united under a certain Amir Kazghan to dethrone him, a design in which they were successful the following year. Amir Kazghan, after this revolution, ruled through puppet Khans until his death in A.H. 759 (1357), and was succeeded by his son Abdulla. Becoming enamoured of the wife of the puppet Khan, Abdulla put him to death and set up Timur Shah Oghlan in his stead. This act caused a revolt, which was headed by an Amir named Bayan Selduz and by Haji‡ Barlas, of Kesh (the modern Shahr-i-Sabz, to the south of Samarcand), and the united forces of the Amirs defeated Abdulla, who fled across the Oxus and disappeared from the scene. The government was now administered by the victors, but the incapacity of Bayan Selduz, who was a hopeless drunkard, broke up the empire into a number of petty states, and Haji Barlas was not able to do more than maintain himself at Kesh.

* Read December 9, 1914.

† The authorities for this period include "A History of Persia," by Sir John Malcolm; "Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches," by Joseph von Hammer; "A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia" (the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*), by Ney Elias and Denison Ross; the "Zafar Nama" of Sharaf-u-Din Ali Yezdi, and the "Institutes of Timur" (ed. Davy and White).

‡ Haji signifies a man who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca; it is a title of honour in the Moslem world.

The Governor of Mongolia, or Jatah, at this period was Tughluk Timur Khan, who, on seeing the state of anarchy into which Transoxiana had fallen, determined to annex it. He started on an expedition for this purpose in A.H. 761 (1360), and marched on Kesh; Haji Barlas, deeming the odds too great, attempted no defence and fled to Khorasan, where he was afterwards killed by brigands.

The Fame of Tamerlane.—Tamerlane has impressed Europe more than any other Asiatic conqueror. Chengiz Khan, a century and a half earlier, was not brought into direct contact with the Near East or with Europe, but conquered lands remote from the ken of the West, and it was not until after his death that his descendants subdued Russia to the north and Mesopotamia to the south. Tamerlane, on the other hand, overran Persia and Mesopotamia, and subsequently entered Russia and attacked the Kipchaks of the lower Volga valley; he also plundered Moscow. He then turned his eyes towards India, the reputed treasure-house of the world, which he invaded. Here he passed the limits both of Alexander the Great and of Chengiz Khan, the former having halted on the Bias, while the latter barely crossed the Indus. Westwards, too, he took Damascus and weakened the power of the Mamelukes, and finally defeated and captured Sultan Bayazid I. of Turkey on the field of Angora. No Asiatic conqueror in historical times has performed such feats of arms as these, and consequently none is entitled to the fame of Tamerlane.

His Birth in A.H. 736 (1335), and his Early Years.—The historians of Tamerlane trace his descent from a certain Karáchár Khan, a vizier in the service of Chagatay, who was connected with his master's family. This genealogy is disputed, but its correctness is of little importance. We know that he was the son of Amir Turghay, chief of the Barlas, a noble Turkish tribe, and nephew of Haji Barlas. From an early age he showed unusual promise both in the council chamber and in the field, where he served with distinction under Amir Kazghan. He was also noted for his skill and endurance in the pursuit of game, resembling in this respect Alexander the Great.

His Submission to Tughluk Timur Khan.—Tamerlane, by the death of his father, had just become the head of his family at the time of the flight of Haji Barlas, and this event proved a crisis in the life of the young Amir. As the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* runs:

His father was dead and his uncle had fled;
The people were exposed to the ravages of a stranger.

Its enemies had placed the tribe in danger:
It was become as an eagle without wings or feathers.

To save the situation, Tamerlane decided to tender his submission to Tughluk Timur Khan, by whom he was received with much distinc-

tion. In the following year the Khan of Jatah obtained possession of Samarcand, and appointed his son Khoja Ilias Oghlan to the governorship of Transoxiana, with the young Tamerlane as his councillor, although a certain Amir Begjit was given the supreme authority. Intrigues naturally followed, with the result that Tamerlane was obliged to flee from Samarcand.

His Early Wanderings.—Being pursued, he turned on his enemies, and defeated them. Then with but a handful of men he sought out Amir Husayn, the grandson of Amir Kazghan, who had recently been beaten by Tughluk Timur and was wandering in the desert. Together the two adventurers proceeded to Khwarazm or Khiva, where the Governor attempted to seize them by treachery, and they were forced to retire to the desert for protection. There they led a life of risk and hardship, Tamerlane and his wife being on one occasion imprisoned by some Turkoman and escaping with difficulty.

Tamerlane or "Timur the lame."—It was during this period that Timur acquired in Sistan his soubriquet of "the lame"; and details of the story have been preserved. In A.H. 764 (1363), when wandering in Southern Afghanistan, he received an appeal for help from Jalal-u-Din Mahmud, the Keiani prince of Sistan, whose subjects had rebelled. Tamerlane and Amir Husayn immediately accepted the invitation, and with the aid of their thousand veterans three out of seven forts held by the rebels were captured. The latter then submitted to their Prince, pointing out that if Tamerlane were allowed to capture the other forts, Sistan would lie at his mercy. Persuaded by these weighty arguments, Jalal-u-Din collected a force with which he attacked his allies, and although Tamerlane succeeded in breaking the centre of the Sistan army, he received two arrow wounds, one in his arm and the other in his foot, which was thus permanently lamed. From this he became known as *Timur lang*, or "the lame," two words which in European languages have been merged in the euphonious form of Tamerlane. The word Timur signifies iron.

The Rallying of his Relations and Adherents.—In Timur's "Institutes"* there is a delightful account of how relations and adherents rallied to his standard during this period. It deserves quotation, if only as revealing the character of the Great Adventurer. He writes: "I had not yet rested from my devotions, when a number of people appeared afar off; and they were passing along in a line with the hill. And I mounted my horse, and I came behind them, that I might know their condition, and what men they were. They were, in all, seventy

* Timur's "Memoirs" (Malfuzat) and "Institutes" (Tuzukat) are works the genuineness of which is not universally accepted. Still there is much internal evidence that they were written by the Great Conqueror himself, and they are of considerable value and of great interest as showing his ideals and personality.

horsemen; and I asked of them, saying, 'Warriors, who are ye?'; and they answered unto me, 'We are the servants of Amir Timur, and we wander in search of him; and lo! we find him not.' And I said unto them, 'I also am one of the servants of the Amir. How say ye, if I be your guide, and conduct you unto him?' When their eyes fell upon me, they were overwhelmed with joy; and they alighted from their horses, and they came, and they kneeled and they kissed my stirrup. I also dismounted, and took each of them in my arms. And I put my turban over the head of Toghluk Khoja; and my girdle, which was very rich in jewels, and wrought with gold, I bound on the loins of Amir Sayf-u-Din; and I clothed Tukub Báhádur with my cloak. And they wept, and I wept also. When the hour of prayer was arrived, we prayed together."

The Campaigns with Khoja Ilias.—After their operations in Sistan the two companions in arms proceeded to Kunduz, and in A.H. 765 (1363) they won a battle against the forces of Jatah by a demonstration against the rear of the enemy and by lighting an enormous number of fires, which struck panic into their foes. After the fight, Tamerlane regained possession of Kesh, the inhabitants of the district flocking to his standard by thousands. At this juncture Toghluk Timur died, and Khoja Ilias, on his way home to ascend the throne, was attacked by the two Amirs, who gained a victory after a hard contest. But in the following year, A.H. 766 (1365), Khoja Ilias defeated the two allies in the Battle of the Mire, and besieged Samarcand, from which, however, he was forced to withdraw owing to heavy losses among his horses.

The Struggle between Tamerlane and Amir Husayn, A.H. 767-71 (1365-69).—After the first success over the Amirs of Jatah, the two victors, probably owing to the intense respect which still existed for the family of Chengiz Khan, set up a puppet in the person of Kabil Shah Oghlan, but retained the power in their own hands. Their friendship, which had been welded in the furnace of adversity, could not withstand the strain of success, and open hostilities broke out, in which Tamerlane was at first unsuccessful. His fortunes were restored by a most brilliant feat of arms, which deserves to be recorded as an illustration of the amazing enterprise and initiative of the famous conqueror. Karshi, a town only a few miles to the south-west of Kesh, had been captured by his rival, and he felt bound in honour to recover it. His forces were too small to assault it openly, and Amir Husayn was in the neighbourhood with an army too powerful to be attacked. Tamerlane, giving out that he had departed to Khorasan, crossed the Oxus. When he was satisfied that his enemies were deceived and "had spread abroad the carpet of riot and dissipation," he made forced marches, escalated the walls by night, slew the guard at the gate, and frightened away the rest of the startled garrison by sounding trumpets. The

men who accomplished this consummate feat of arms were only 243 in number, and when this became known the little band was assailed by Amir Husayn. To the amazement of his enemies, Tamerlane sallied out repeatedly and inflicted such loss in his charges that the larger army retreated. Not long afterwards Amir Husayn was forced to capitulate at Balkh, where he was put to death.

*The Conquest of Jatah and of Khwarazm, A.H. 771-82 (1369-80).—*The successful issue of the contest with Amir Husayn gave Tamerlane complete control of Transoxiana, and for a full decade he was busily engaged in conquering the neighbouring states of Jatah to the east and of Khwarazm to the west.

*The Surrender of Herat, A.H. 782 (1380).—*In A.H. 782 (1380) he began his famous campaigns in Persia, his first objective being Khorasan. Ghias-u-Din Pir Ali, the Kart Prince, after being lulled into false security, was surprised and submitted. His submission was accepted, but so heavy a contribution was levied on Herat and other towns that they were reduced to dire poverty. Kandahar and Kابل also submitted later on, but isolated strongholds continued to resist in various portions of what is now termed the kingdom of Afghanistan.

*The Siege of Kalat-i-Nadiri and of Turshiz.—*The famous natural fortress now known as Kalat-i-Nadiri, which I visited some years ago, won imperishable fame by resisting all attempts at assault after a surprise had failed.* Tamerlane invested the Nafta *darband*† in person, his Amirs attacking the other entrances. Some Badakshani hillmen found a way up the cliffs and negotiations for surrender were opened up, but while they were in progress the astute defender broke down this track. Fourteen assaults were delivered, but without result, and the great Tamerlane had to admit defeat. However, he left a force to blockade the fortress, and in the end it was surrendered owing to an outbreak of plague.

The city of Turshiz, the site of which I have examined,‡ was taken by force of arms. It was believed to be impregnable owing to its deep ditch and high walls; but the water was drawn off by well-diggers, a mine was run under the walls, and it had to surrender. The garrison was spared and re-enlisted under Tamerlane to serve in Turkestan.

*The Sistan Campaign, A.H. 785 (1383).—*The slow progress made by Tamerlane at this period, as compared with the ease with which the Mongols overran Persia, deserves attention. Herat had indeed submitted, but the resistance of Kalat-i-Nadiri and of other strongholds must have strained the resources of the Conqueror. Jatah, moreover, needed watching, and consequently it was not until the fourth year

* *Vide* "A Fifth Journey in Persia," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for December, 1906.

† A *darband* is a defile which forms the natural entrance.

‡ *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for February, 1911.

after the campaign began that Tamerlane was able to invade Sistan. Marching through Herat and Afghan Sabzawar, his cavalry devastated the whole district; Zirreh (which is probably the ancient Zaranj and the modern Nad Ali) was breached and stormed without resort to siege operations. Tamerlane now advanced on the city of Sistan, and made a personal reconnaissance. To quote from the *Zafar Nama*, "I made towards a gate, and when only a short distance away I ascended a mound, which is called Kutluk, and halted upon the summit. I placed as a precautionary measure 2,000 men-at-arms, in complete armour, in an ambush. When the people of the country saw me come to a stand upon the summit of the mound, they recognized whom they had to deal with, and Shah Kutb-u-din, the Prince of Sistan, despatched to my presence Shah-i-Shahan and Taj-u-din Sistani, who were the chief of all his leaders."

Tate,* who has made a plan of Zahidan, as the ruins are now termed, shows a mound close to the south angle of the walls, and there is little doubt it was from here that the Great Conqueror examined the city.

Meanwhile the Sistanis, unaware of the hidden force and careless of the safety of their deputation, swarmed out of the city and advanced to the attack. The usual ruse of a feigned retreat and a surprise by the hidden troops drove the undisciplined peasantry back to their walls with heavy loss, but they had fought bravely and killed many of the enemy, whose horses they stabbed with their knives.

Undismayed, the Sistanis next attempted a night attack, which at first caused some confusion, but the disciplined troops rallied and inflicted terrible losses on the enemy. The city was then assaulted by the entire army, and its ruler, realizing that he could not hope to resist for very long, resolved to surrender. During the course of the negotiations Tamerlane set off with a small escort to visit one of his divisions. Again the Sistanis assailed him, climbing down from their battlements. This act of hostility provoked Tamerlane to order a fresh assault, and the city was taken. Its garrison was put to the sword, and its population was massacred. Its great area is now so desolate and lifeless that when I visited it the wonderful lines of Isaiah† came to my mind: "An habitation of dragons, and a court for owls. The wild beasts of the desert shall also meet with the wild beasts of the island, and the satyr shall cry to his fellow."

The Campaign in Northern Persia, A.H. 786 (1384).—In the year following the conquest of Sistan and the consolidation of his power in Khorasan, Tamerlane undertook what may be regarded as the first of his distant campaigns. Hitherto he had been operating in districts

* "Sistan," Parts I. to III. p. 55. This useful work is by G. P. Tate of the Survey Department of the Government of India.

† Chapter xxxiv. 13, 14.

familiar to him and not very far from his base. Crossing the Oxus with a powerful and well-equipped army, he marched into the valley of the Gurgan and camped near Astrabad. Its ruler, who had submitted but had since rebelled, resisted for a month, and then, seeing no hope of success, left his state to be ravaged, and fled. After the conquest of Mazanderan, Tamerlane advanced on Rei and Sultania, and having taken these royal cities returned to Samarcand.

The Campaign in Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Fars, A.H. 788-90 (1386-88).—Two years later a second and even more distant campaign was undertaken, in the course of which Tamerlane occupied Azerbaijan, crossed the Aras, overran Georgia, and received the submission of the Princes of Gilan, of the Khan of the Lesghians, and of the Prince of Shirwan. His next objective was Van, the capital of the rising Kara Kuyunlu dynasty, which was sacked; its Prince, Kara Yusuf, leaving it to its fate and remaining in exile until the Conqueror had quitted the district.

Zayn-ul-Abidin, son of Shah Shuja of the Muzaffar dynasty, now occupied the throne of Fars. He had not followed out his father's policy of submission to Tamerlane, but had imprisoned his envoy. Consequently the Great Conqueror ordered a march on Isfahan, which formed part of the Muzaffarid dominions. This city surrendered, and a heavy contribution had been almost collected when the chance playing of a drum brought together a mob which attacked and slew the 3,000 Tartars quartered in the city. Tamerlane was merciless in avenging this outbreak, and 70,000 heads built into pyramids taught a terrible lesson.

Tamerlane and Hafiz.—Shiraz hastened to open its gates when the invaders approached. Tamerlane sent for Hafiz, and the celebrated interview is described by Dolatshah as follows:

"I have subdued with this sword the greater part of the earth; I have depopulated a vast number of cities and provinces in order to increase the glory and wealth of Samarcand and Bokhara, the ordinary places of my residence and the seat of my empire; yet thou, an insignificant individual, hast pretended to give away both Samarcand and Bokhara as the price of a little black mole setting off the features of a beautiful face; for thou hast said in one of thy verses:

If that fair maiden of Shiraz would accept my love,
I would give for the dark mole which adorns her cheek
Samarcand and Bokhara."

Hafiz bowed to the ground, and replied: "Alas! O Prince, it is this prodigality which is the cause of the misery in which you see me." The repartee delighted Tamerlane so much that he treated the Poet with kindness and generosity.

The Campaigns with Toktamish, A.H. 790-93 (1388-91).—Toktamish, the head of the Eastern or White Horde, was a great figure on the

stage of Russia, Moscow being sacked by him in A.D. 1382. The sovereignty of the Western or Golden Horde also passed into his family, and thereby the two elder branches of the family of Juji* became united. Tamerlane had helped him when a refugee, but with marked folly and ingratitude he took advantage of his absence in Fars to invade Transoxiana, where he defeated the force which met him, and ravaged the country. The Great Conqueror returned to Central Asia, and after a long and exhausting march across the uninhabited steppe, at last, aided by the treachery of the standard-bearer of Toktamish, defeated the representative of the house of Juji at the Battle of Terek, inflicting on him heavy losses.

The Campaign in Fars and Irak, A.H. 794-95 (1392-93).—In A.H. 794 (1392), hearing that the state of affairs in Persia was unsatisfactory, or more probably wishing to extend his conquests farther west, Tamerlane decided on another Persian campaign. He marched as before by way of Astrabad and Amul, reducing various strongholds which had held out against him and extirpating a nest of Ismailis, which had escaped from the massacre by Hulagu.

At the beginning of the following year he advanced on Khorramabad and Shuster, attacking and capturing the Kala Sufid, celebrated for its connection with Rustam, who obtained possession of it by a ruse.† He then marched on Shiraz, where, to his astonishment, his army, 30,000 strong, was charged by Shah Mansur, Prince of the Muzaffar dynasty, at the head of a body of 4,000 armour-clad horsemen. Sharaf-u-Din, who was present at this engagement, gives the following spirited account: "Shah Mansur advanced at their head like a furious lion, and in opposition to his reason, which should have preserved in his mind a suitable idea of the person he had to do with. On a Friday, at the hour of prayer, he attacked our main body, composed of 30,000 Turks, the most dexterous men of their time, in a place named Patila; he however overthrew their squadrons, broke their ranks, made his way into the midst of them, and gained posts of the utmost consequence behind our army. Then he returned, furious as a dragon, to the fight, seeming resolved to lose his life. Timur stopped short with some of his favourites to consider the extreme vigour, or rather rashness, of this prince, who dared to attack him in person. Timur, seeing him come directly against him, would have armed himself with his lance to oppose him, but he could not find it, because Poulad Choura, the keeper of it, had been so vigorously attacked, that he had fled and carried away the lance. Timur, who had only fourteen or fifteen persons with him, did not stir out of his place till Shah Mansur came up to him. This rash person struck the Emperor's helmet twice with

* "Mohamedan Dynasties," p. 228.

† *Vide* Malcolm, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

his scimitar; but the blows did no harm, for they glanced along his arms: he kept firm as a rock, and did not change his posture."

The Prince was not properly supported in his gallant charge. The two wings of his small force fled, and, surrounded by enemies, he was slain by Shah Rukh, the celebrated son of Tamerlane, who cast his head at his sire's feet, exclaiming, "May the heads of all thy enemies be laid at thy feet as the head of the proud Mansur!" This exploit of arms sealed the doom of the Muzaffar dynasty, all the members of which were put to death. Baghdad was the next objective of the Great Conqueror, and unable to resist, the great city submitted after its Prince had fled.

The Siege of Takrit, A.H. 796 (1393).—From the erstwhile capital of the Caliph, Tamerlane marched north and besieged Takrit, a fort held by a noted robber-chief named Hasan, who, confident in its strength, prepared to resist to the uttermost. The siege was the most celebrated of the day. The lofty walls, which rested on the living rock or merely connected portions of the cliff, appeared to be impregnable, but the army of Tamerlane was not to be denied. Seventy-two thousand men were employed in mining the solid rock, and with such success that at a given signal the mines, filled with combustibles, were simultaneously set on fire, the props were burned, and many of the strongest towers fell. Hasan retreated, fighting bravely, to an inner citadel, which was attacked in the same manner, and the siege ended in the capture of the garrison, the members of which were distributed among the various regiments to be tortured to death. With pardonable pride Tamerlane ordered that a portion of the fortress should be left to prove his prowess to future ages.

The Second Campaign in Russia, A.H. 797 (1394).—Tamerlane had now subdued Persia, Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and Georgia; his next exploit was to march across Kipchak to the heart of Russia. Moscow was plundered, and Toktamish, who had dared to invade Shirwan, again saw his country devastated. In the following year the Great Conqueror sacked Astrakhan and strengthened his hold on the Caucasus, and he concluded this arduous campaign by returning to Samarcand across Northern Persia.

The Invasion of India, A.H. 800-801 (1398-99).—Tamerlane's design of invading India was at first opposed by some of his generals, who were appalled at the magnitude of the enterprise. An omen was sought in the Koran, and the verse "O Prophet, fight with the infidels and the unbelievers" came forth and silenced all objections. The army, 92,000 strong, was divided into three corps. The first was despatched from Kabul against Multan; a second corps was ordered to invade the Panjab, keeping to the foot-hills of the Himalayas, while the leader himself marched with the main body. Upon reaching the vicinity of Delhi, Tamerlane, anxious to fight a decisive battle rather

than risk the difficulties of a siege, entrenched himself and assumed the defensive. By these tactics he entirely deceived Sultan Mahmud, whose army he defeated, and, to quote the "Institutes," he "conquered the chief city of Hind."

The Campaign against the Mamelukes, A.H. 803 (1401).—After his return from India, Tamerlane, who was now approaching his seventh decade, might well have rested on his laurels and deputed to his sons the care of his widespreading empire; but conquerors, like actors, seldom retire from the stage. Hearing that Ahmad, the Jalayr Prince, had returned to Baghdad, the veteran chief made forced marches into Azerbaijan, distant more than one thousand miles from Samarcand. Ahmad, to strengthen his position, put to death various inhabitants of Baghdad suspected of favouring the enemy, but a rising drove him out of his capital and he was obliged to take refuge with Kara Yusuf.

Tamerlane advanced into Asia Minor, and besieged and took Sivas. After this success he swung southwards into Syria, where Aleppo and afterwards Damascus became his prey. Returning eastwards, he took Baghdad by assault and marched to Tabriz, where he rested his army.

The Defeat of Bayazid, A.H. 804 (1402).—His last campaign was perhaps his greatest. In Central Asia, in Persia, and in India he had encountered no formidable state ruled by a warlike monarch, and with his large numbers, perfect discipline, and vast experience, victory must have become a matter of course.

The Osmanlis whom he was now to meet were descended from a Turkish tribe which had fled from the neighbourhood of Merv before the hordes of Chengiz Khan, and just a century before had founded a mighty dynasty. The early victories of this warlike people lie outside the scope of this work. It suffices to state that in the stricken field of Kosovo, in A.D. 1389, they worsted the Servians and their Christian allies mainly owing to the bravery of Bayazid, and that seven years later at Nicopolis the chivalry of Europe broke and fled before the armed might of the Sultan, whose rapidity of action had earned for him the title of the "Thunderbolt."

When Tamerlane stormed Sivas, a son of the Sultan was put to death, and Bayazid, who was besieging Constantinople, hastened over to Asia Minor to meet the invader. But Tamerlane had meanwhile marched into Syria, and it was not until a year later that the two great conquerors confronted one another on the field of battle.

Bayazid appears to have become indolent after his great successes, and, moreover, he was notoriously avaricious, the most fatal of all failings in the East. Consequently he was no match for his great opponent, who was ever fit and ready for war. The decisive battle was fought at Angora, which had witnessed the final defeat of Mithridates by Pompey and at a later date the first victory of the Osmanlis.

Bayazid brought his men on to the field tired and suffering from thirst, and some of his contingents deserted, relying on the reputation for generosity enjoyed by the invaders, whose agents had been active. The Janissaries and the Christian contingents fought splendidly, but the greater numbers of Tamerlane ultimately prevailed, and, as old Knolles writes, "He with much ado obtained the victory." Bayazid was taken prisoner and, after an attempt at escape, was chained at night; this circumstance, and the fact that the royal prisoner travelled in a barred litter, originated the legend of his confinement in an iron cage.* Tamerlane reaped the fruits of victory by occupying Asia Minor, including the ports of Brusa, Nicæa, and Smyrna. From the last-named city he expelled the knights of St. John. It is interesting to learn that Tamerlane wrote a letter to Henry IV. of England in which he offered free commercial intercourse to his subjects. Henry's reply, the draft of which is preserved, congratulates him on his great victory over the Turks. Both letters were conveyed by John Greenlaw,† an English Minorite or Friar Preacher who was resident at Tabriz and is termed Archbishop John.

The Castilian Embassy to the Court of Samarcand, A.D. 1403-6.—Henry III. of Castille, son-in-law of "time-honour'd Lancaster," was noted for the embassies which he despatched to remote parts of the world, chiefly, it is to be supposed, with a view to forming alliances which should act as a check on the Osmanlis and neighbouring Moslems, but also with the purpose of extending the fame of Spain and of gaining knowledge of other countries.

We learn that two of his envoys were present at the battle of Angora, and that Tamerlane dismissed them after his victory with an ambassador of his own, who carried rich presents of jewels and fair women to the King of Castille. In continuance of this diplomatic intercourse, Ruy Gonzalez di Clavijo‡ was despatched to the Court of Tamerlane on a second embassy. Thanks to the careful diary of this trusty old knight, we possess a vivid and most interesting contemporary account of the Great Conqueror.

Starting from Cadiz, accompanied by the ambassador whom Tamerlane had sent to the Court of Castille, the travellers experienced danger from both storms and currents, and upon reaching Rhodes were unable to obtain any accurate information as to the whereabouts of Tamerlane. They decided to make for Karabagh in Azerbaijan, and

* Bayazid appears in Marlowe's "Tamburlaine the Great," and is made to beat out his brains against the bars of the cage.

† *Vide* "Original Letters Illustrative of English History" (Third Series, vol. i. pp. 54-58), by Sir Henry Ellis. I have to thank Mr. A. G. Ellis for this reference.

‡ *Vide* "Embassy to the Court of Timour," translated by Sir Clements Markham (Hakluyt Society).

in pursuance of this design landed at Trebizond, and proceeded by the well-known route to the frontier town of Khoi. There they met ambassadors from the Sultan of Egypt bearing gifts to Tamerlane, among them being "a beast called *Jornufa*," . . . which was a wonderful sight"; and the two embassies travelled eastwards together.

Clavijo describes the beautiful mosques of Tabriz "ornamented very skilfully with mosaic, and blue and gold work," and gives the population at 200,000 houses, or 1,000,000 persons, with the remark that it was formerly more populous. Sultania, too, is described as an important centre, and some account is given of Gilan from hearsay. Continuing along the historical trunk route so often referred to, they mention the city of Teheran—for the first time, so far as I know—and a diversion was made to Lar, now the favourite summer camp of the English colony. Rejoining the Meshed road in the vicinity of Damghan, the ambassadors, who were ill from the constant riding and heat, reached Nishapur, where a member of the embassy died. At Meshed the Castilians were permitted to visit the Shrine of the Imam Riza, and a reference is made to the "large tomb which is covered with silver gilt."

The onward route lay by Merv, and the party nearly died of thirst in the desert before the Murghab was reached. The Oxus is referred to as "the Viadme which is another of the rivers which flow from Paradise. It is a league in width and flows through a very flat country, with great and wonderful force, and it is very muddy."

Crossing by a bridge of timber near Termiz, the travellers passed the famous "Gates of Iran," the Eastern Darband, or "Shut Gate," and Clavijo dwells on the power of the monarch who was lord of both the celebrated passes bearing this name; the other, to the west of the Caspian Sea, between known as Derbent, I have visited more than once. Kesh, the home of Tamerlane, is described, and its polished glazed tiles, in gold and blue patterns, made a great impression on the Castilians.

Finally Samarcand was reached, and after waiting for eight days, according to etiquette, the ambassadors were received by Tamerlane. The description of the Great Conqueror and of the audience is of historical value and had better be given in the words of Clavijo:

"Timur Beg was seated in a portal, in front of the entrance of a beautiful palace; and he was sitting on the ground. Before him there was a fountain, which threw up the water very high, and in it there were some red apples. The lord was seated cross-legged, on silken embroidered carpets, amongst round pillows. He was dressed in a robe of silk, with a high white hat on his head, on the top of which there was a spinel ruby, with pearls and precious stones round it. As

soon as the ambassadors saw the lord, they made a reverential bow, placing the knee on the ground, and crossing the arms on the breast ; then they went forward and made another, and then a third, remaining with their knees on the ground. The lord ordered them to rise and come forward ; and the knights, who had held them until then, let them go. Three Mirzas, or Secretaries, who stood before the lord, came and took the ambassadors by the arms, and led them forward until they stood together before the lord. This was done that the lord might see them better ; for his eyesight was bad, being so old that the eyelids had fallen down entirely. He had not given them his hand to kiss, for it was not the custom of any great lord to kiss his hand ; but he asked after the king, saying, 'How is my son the king ? is he in good health ?' When the ambassadors had answered, Timur Beg turned to the knights who were seated around him, amongst whom were one of the sons of Toktamish, the former Emperor of Tartary, several chiefs of the blood of the late Emperor of Samarcand, and others of the family of the lord himself, and said : 'Behold, here are the ambassadors sent by my son, the King of Spain, who is the greatest king of the Franks, and lives at the end of the world. These Franks are truly a great people, and I will give my benediction to the King of Spain, my son. It would have sufficed if he had sent you to me with the letter, and without the presents, so well satisfied am I to hear of his health and prosperous state.'

Clavijo describes the beautiful gardens with their tiled palaces where banquets were given. The ambassador, who was invited, marvelled at the gorgeot tents, one of which "was so large and high that from a distance it looked like a castle ; and it was a very wonderful thing to see, and possessed more beauty than it is possible to describe." He also refers to the feast at which the marriage of one of the princes of the blood was celebrated, and at which the drinking went on all night. It is interesting to notice that Sharaf-u-Din mentions the presence of the Frank ambassadors ; "for," he writes, "even the smallest of fish have their place in the sea." Truly a delightful touch !

The Castilian gives instances of Tamerlane's justice, observing that "when a great man is put to death, he is hanged, but the meaner sort are beheaded." He also visited Pir Mohamed, son of Jahangir, who was named his grandfather's successor. He describes him as being very richly dressed in "blue satin, embroidered with golden wheels, some on the back, and others on the breast and sleeves." He was watching a wrestling match and does not appear to have condescended to address the envoys.

Finally Samarcand, the beloved city of Tamerlane, "a little larger than the city of Seville," is described as surrounded by many gardens and vineyards, a description which still holds true. Its inhabitants

were mainly captives brought from every part of the Empire and "they are said to have amounted to 150,000 persons, of many nations, Turks, Arabs and Moors, Christian Armenians, Greek Catholics and Jacobites, and those who baptize with fire on the face, who are Christians with peculiar opinions." *

Here we must leave the Castilian Knight, with deep gratitude for his valuable account of the dread Tamerlane, whose kindness and liberality to this Frankish Embassy, which was overwhelmed with gifts and supplies, contrasts very favourably with the starvation which the monk Carpini endured when fulfilling a similar task at the Court of the grandson of Chengiz Khan.

The Death of Tamerlane, A.H. 807 (1405).—When Tamerlane returned in triumph to Samarcand after the defeat of Bayazid, he was, as the above account shows, a very old man. But the lust of conquest did not diminish, and in A.H. 807 (1404) he convened a Diet, at which he proposed the subjugation of China, on the double ground that the race of Chengiz had been expelled from that empire, and also that the enterprise would be a holy war. The proposal was accepted with acclamation, 200,000 picked men were equipped, and the great army began its march. The Jaxartes was crossed at Otrar, the city which first saw the hordes of Chengiz Khan, and there the sudden illness and death of Tamerlane put an end to the enterprise.

His Character and Achievements.—Tamerlane, the "Lord of the Conjunctions,"† was perhaps the greatest Asiatic conqueror known in history. The son of a petty chieftain, he was not only the bravest of the brave, but also profoundly sagacious, generous, experienced, and persevering; and the combination of these qualities made him an unsurpassed leader of men and a very god of war adored by all ranks. Malcolm brands him for a massacre of his prisoners at Delhi, but, awful though this was, it was dictated by imperative military exigencies. Did not Napoleon act in a similar manner in the last year of the eighteenth century? In the "Institutes" it is laid down that every soldier surrendering should be treated with honour and regard, a rule which, in striking contrast with the customs prevailing at the period, is remarkable for its humane spirit.

The object of Tamerlane was glory, and as in the case of all conquerors, ancient or modern, his career was attended by terrible bloodshed. He sometimes ordered massacres by way of retribution or from policy, but there were few that had their origin in pure savagery. Again, Tamerlane was a devout Moslem, who, though he took advantage of the tenets of Islam for his own aggrandisement, was nevertheless a patron of learned men, a writer of some merit, and fond of the

* Perhaps Hindus with their caste marks are here referred to.

† In the East it is believed that the great conjunctions of the planets portend the advent of super-men.

game of chess. He was also careful to allow no favourites, but decided everything of importance himself,* and in an absolute monarch this constitutes a virtue of no mean order.

His achievements seemed almost to border on the superhuman. He carried his arms in every direction throughout a long life, in no campaign was he worsted, and when he died, as Gibbon says, "From the Irtysh and Volga to the Persian Gulf, and from the Ganges to Damascus and the Archipelago, Asia was in the hands of Timur."

Tamerlane lies in a domed mausoleum at Samarcand. The cenotaph consists of a block of dark jade, believed to be the largest in the world, the actual tomb being situated in a vault below. I count it a special privilege to have visited the tomb of this great maker of history, where he lies with his relatives and his spiritual leader, and is still known as "*the Amir*."

Answering various questions by Sir Henry Trotter, Mr. E. R. P. Moon and others,

COLONEL SYKES said that it was true that in the picture of Tamerlane he had shown on the screen he was represented as very much darker than the Mongol race to which he belonged. But that was possibly due to the fancy of the artist, whose portrait undoubtedly in other respects came nearer to the original than other painters. They had shown him as a small man lacking vigour and personality, while this picture showed him to be a man of character and of determination. Answering an inquiry as to the westernmost point to which Tamerlane carried his arms, he said that Smyrna and Brusa were actually farther West than Moscow; but in Europe Moscow was the limit of his conquests. Replying to Colonel Pemberton as to whether the depopulation and barrenness of large parts of Central Asia might in some measure be attributable to Tamerlane's conquest, Colonel Sykes said that the desiccation going on for so many centuries in Middle Asia was the chief element in the depopulation of countries formerly well peopled. He would point out, however, that these regions had for the most part greatly increased in population and prosperity since Russia had taken them over some thirty years ago. If Colonel Pemberton revisited Central Asia after the lapse of years since he was last there he would see a marked increase of population and prosperity, specially round Merv, where a curious custom prevailed. The distribution of water for irrigation was calculated on the number of wives of the Turkoman farmer. If he had six wives he was entitled

* The first of his twelve maxims runs: "It is necessary that his words and his actions be his own. That is to say, that his soldiers and his subjects may know that what the king sayeth and doeth, he sayeth and doeth for himself; and that no other person hath influence therein."

to six lots of water. The result was that the market price of ladies in Central Asia had gone up to the high figure of £400, and a great many of the farmers disregarded the Prophet's interdiction by marrying more than four wives. This produced an unfortunate state of affairs in Persia, where, as the ordinary price was not more than £40, a great deal of kidnapping for Central Asia went on. The theory of the water allotment was that each wife represented a family, and water must be provided for crops to feed her offspring. The wives did most of the work, and that was another reason for the competition for them. It might be said that the whole of the region in Central Asia outside Afghanistan which Tamerlane brought under his rule was now part of the Russian Empire, except Bokhara, which had the position of a Native State with internal independence, very much like the Hyderabad State in India.

Speaking of Merv, Colonel Sykes said that the destruction wrought by Chengiz Khan was the second of its kind, and others followed. Altogether there had been, he thought, six different sites of the city. Baber, the founder of the so-called Moghul dynasty of India, was of the same tribe as Tamerlane, and one of his descendants. Curiously enough, in his lifetime Baber always ran down the Mongols. Tamerlane's tribe were Turco-Mongols. The meaning of Turk was a helmet, and the tribesmen who gained ascendancy at Constantinople were called Turks from a hill in their habitat having this shape; at least that was the general belief.

Mr. CRESWELL said that he believed that by his constant campaigns Tamerlane did incalculable harm to Oriental art. For instance, the splendid thirteenth and fourteenth century lustre pottery did not survive the period of his conquest. So far as he had been able to discover, it was not to be found in any building erected after that date. He asked the lecturer whether this was not the case, and whether mosaic decoration did not similarly decay under the withering touch of war. It would seem that the craftsmen were wiped out, and had no opportunity of passing on their secrets of manufacture to those who came after them. It was also understood that he took away from Damascus all its swords and blades and its reputation for their manufacture. When his star appeared Central Asia had reached its high-water mark of artistic excellence.

COLONEL SYKES said that he could not go into these points in detail on the present occasion, but he thought there was a great deal in what Mr. Creswell had said. There was no question that about this time lustre work became a lost art. Answering a lady who had visited the tomb at Samarcand, he said that it would seem that this beautiful mausoleum was built by Tamerlane as a tribute to his spiritual leader, to whom he was devoted. The grave of the holy man occupied the

central position under the dome, while that of Tamerlane himself was on one side of it.

The CHAIRMAN said they would all agree in thanking Colonel Sykes for a peculiarly interesting lecture. He had heard him lecture many times on many different subjects, and he always managed to select interesting subjects and to present them in a very interesting way. They were fortunate to hear the details of Tamerlane's life from one who had travelled so extensively in the countries with which the name of the great conqueror was identified. His intimate knowledge of men and things in the countries of which he spoke always gave Colonel Sykes's lectures a particular value.

BRIEF REVIEW OF PRESENT CONDITIONS IN CHINA *

By W. WOODVILLE ROCKHILL

ON February 12, 1912, the Emperor of China abdicated, and on the 15th Yüan Shih-k'ai was elected by a National Council, sitting at Nanking, Provisional President of the Republic of China.

During 1912, the first year of the Republic, nothing was done to "elevate the people, secure them peace, and legislate for their prosperity," as had been promised them in the Republican Manifesto of January 5, 1912; the whole year was consumed in an interminable fight between the President, who sought to put in force urgently needed reforms for the re-establishment of law and order, and the National Council, which strove to secure absolute control for itself over the whole administration of the country, and refused the Executive all power and means of action. The chaotic conditions in every branch of the Government, both metropolitan and provincial, which had marked the last two or three years of the Empire, grew steadily worse, and complete anarchy and a dissolution of the State seemed imminent.

The year 1913 began with the convening of a National Assembly, but this brought with it no change for the better in the internal conditions of the country; on the contrary, they grew worse. A rebellion, led by the enemies of the President and of the Peking Government, broke out in the summer, but in less than two months it was completely suppressed, and on October 6, Yüan Shih-k'ai was elected President of the Republic for a term of five years. His hand thus strengthened, and realizing that the great mass of the people longed only for the restoration of order, he at once began to take effective steps, looking solely to that end and regardless of all political ideals. He deemed rightly that his duty to the people was too great for him to hesitate to force the adoption of measures which the experience of the preceding two years had superabundantly demonstrated were absolutely necessary for the salvation of China. The radical party, which controlled the National Assembly and had openly incited and led the revolt of the previous summer, was broken up, and the Assembly, first prorogued, was shortly after dissolved, as were also the various provincial assemblies and local self-governing boards.

That the dissolution of the National Assembly was an indispensable condition prerequisite to any possible reform of the State, there exists no longer a shadow of a doubt in the mind of any unprejudiced person. In the uneducated condition of the country as regards all political, social, and economic questions, such a large and utterly inexperienced body (576 Representatives and 261 Senators)

* The proof of this article was not corrected by the author, whose death occurred suddenly at Honolulu, on his way out to China.

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could but block all useful and necessary reforms, retard the restoration of order and the economic recovery of the country.*

The dissolution of these bodies met with the hearty approval of the whole of China, an approval which confirmed the Government in its determination to begin promptly the work of reorganizing the State. With the assistance of an Advisory, or Political, Council, drawn from the various provinces and the principal departments of the Central Government, and whose duties were to temporarily assist the Executive in the discharge of his duties, Yüan Shih-k'ai began the herculean labour of reform and modernization of China which is to culminate in the establishment of a parliamentary government, truly representative of the needs and aspirations of the various social elements of the nation.

The old provincial administration, bad as its personnel unquestionably was in a number of cases, had experience, some authority, and had been generally able to maintain at least a semblance of order and to collect a considerable part of the revenue, of the State. The men of the Revolution of 1911 to 1912 broke it down, placed the provinces under military governors or *Tutuh*, and filled every office with new men, regardless of their fitness, and often for a money consideration. Carpet-baggers and spoilsmen were everywhere, while hundreds of thousands of uncontrolled soldiers and numerous bands of brigands preyed upon the people, terrorized the countryside, and paralyzed all trade.

Encouraged by the promise of autonomy made in the early days of the Revolution and of the remission of former burdensome taxes, the provinces kept for their own use such revenues as they were able to collect and the people willing to pay. Notwithstanding the pressing needs of the Central Government and its impotent appeals for money assistance, most of them, during the years 1912 and 1913, contributed little or nothing to its support.

Such was the general condition of China when the present year opened. It is the first in which the Government of Peking has found itself free to initiate the reforms which it believes will best and most rapidly contribute to the establishment of peace and order throughout the country.

The first problems which have perforce faced the Government have been the creation of efficient civil and military administrations, the initiation of measures to relieve the financial embarrassment of the country (which has been steadily increasing in gravity since the Japanese-Chinese War of 1894, and especially since the Boxer troubles of 1900), the development of the economic resources of the country, and the elaboration of a practical educational system suited to the requirements of the people.

Before its dissolution the Political Council advised the President to convene a Provisional Constitutional Conference, composed of noteworthy men from all parts of the country, to amend the Constitution of 1912 in such of its provisions as had been proved impracticable from the outset. This was done, and on May 1 of this year these amendments, in sixty-eight articles, were promulgated. I need not dwell at length on these changes in the earlier compact. The most noteworthy is that instituting the system of Presidential government, and abandoning that of Cabinet government chosen by the framers of the Provisional Constitution. Generally speaking, the Amended Constitution follows closely the

* A glance at the list of laws enacted by the National Assembly from March, 1912, to April, 1913, will show the futility of such a body. See the *China Year Book*, 1914, pp. 500-502.

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lines of the Japanese Constitution of 1889, which, in the opinion of a well-qualified writer, has shown its suitableness in the past, and may well prove sufficiently flexible to permit the people of the country, just so soon as they have acquired sufficient political experience and capacity, to exercise a really controlling influence over the Government. "There is no reason," this writer adds, "to believe that the Chinese will not be able to bring about the same result if they are only patient, and do not attempt to move too rapidly along a road which is, it must be remembered, strewn with the failures of those essaying the journey with too little regard for the lessons of the past and with insufficient preparation."*

A Council of State as provided for in the Amended Constitution, composed of seventy men of broad experience, or otherwise well qualified to offer intelligent comment and criticism to the measures submitted to it by the Executive, and to otherwise assist him in carrying the overwhelming burden put upon him, was promptly organized in May, and began its sessions on June 20, under the presidency of the Vice-President of the Republic.

The work since then accomplished by the Chief Executive in reorganizing the metropolitan and provincial administrations is so vast that it would lead beyond the limits of this paper to enumerate, let alone analyze, even the main features of the principal mandates and regulations issued by him, or under his order by the various Ministries. The leading feature in all the measures adopted is centralization, together with clear definitions of the duties and responsibilities of the various services of the State, and the creation of adequate checks and means of effective control over all branches, so as to insure regularity, uniformity, and faithfulness in the discharge of their various duties. The details into which many of these documents go may seem to most Occidental readers quite unnecessary and not infrequently even prejudicial to any broad and intelligent appreciation of the more general and important principles on which they are based. Such is not, however, the case in China, where, from the earliest days of its history, a strong love of red tape, and an extraordinary fondness for details and seemingly endless minutiae, have been a distinguishing but apparently indispensable feature of its bureaucracy. The mandates and regulations issuing from Peking can only be judged by their general results, not from their prolixity and endless reiterations.

The general plan of the reorganization of the civil administration of the country accomplished during the present year may be summarized as follows: The twenty-two provinces composing the Republic have been completely restored to civil government and placed under the orders of Governors with extensive powers, defined at great length in special regulations, over all civil officials in their provinces and over the newly created provincial militia (or Militia Protection Corps), and with direct responsibility to the Central Government for their faithful performance. The administrative budgets for each province and its subdivisions are fixed by the Central Government and may not be exceeded, and all officials handling public moneys are placed under bond, the amount of the bond being held by the nearest Government bank.

Each province is divided into a small number of circuits under the orders of Intendants of Circuit appointed by the President, but directly responsible to the

* "The Amended Constitution," by Dr. Frank L. Goodnow, Peking, May 14, 1914, p. 10.

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Governors for all their acts. These circuits in turn are subdivided into districts under the orders of magistrates appointed by the Governor from a list of eligibles after successful examination before an Examining Board in Peking. They exercise within their respective jurisdictions similar powers to those of the Intendants.

Besides the High Court and other courts established in Peking, a Court of Assize has been opened in each province, the Chief of which is under the direct control of the Ministry of Justice, and has supervision over the various magistrates of his province when acting judicially. Other reforms have been made in the judicial system, but not a few cannot be carried out at present, partly for lack of adequate revenues, but principally for lack of trained Judges. Time and persistent efforts can alone solve the latter difficulty.

The military forces of the provinces have been more or less amalgamated so as to form a certain number of military circumscriptions, each under the command of a General, who takes the place of the Tutuh, which rank is abolished. The Generals in command of military circumscriptions are under the direct and general control of a Superior Military Council at Peking. The far-reaching importance of this army reorganization cannot be over-estimated, for it creates for the first time a truly national army instead of the semi-independent provincial ones, which have frequently in the last few years shown themselves worse than useless in times of emergency.

A Commission for the punishment of high officials, and an Administrative Court to interpret and enforce the Regulations and protect the people against illegal acts or erroneous interpretations of the laws by officials, have been established; furthermore, an Audit Department, or Court of Accounts, to audit all accounts of the Central Government, each Governor in his province performing the same duty when so empowered by the Ministry of Finance; otherwise it is done by an officer of the Treasury specially appointed for that purpose. Many other devices for insuring efficiency and the faithful discharge of duties have been devised, and the President and Governors have put forth constant and praiseworthy efforts to secure their strict enforcement. The lists of punishments inflicted on officials, military as well as civil, high and low, who have been shown to have embezzled, accepted bribes, illegally exacted money from the people, fled before the brigands, and otherwise failed in the discharge of their duties, with the scathing condemnation of their acts by the President and the Governors, evidence the necessity for all these measures, and the strong appeals of the President to officials of every class to devote themselves to the whole-souled, honest discharge of their duties which have appeared in the *Government Gazette* during this year would fill a volume; but as this cancer in China has existed for centuries, it cannot be hoped that it will be easily eradicated, although the steadfastness of purpose and strong will of the present Executive, as well as the present system of checks on dishonesty and inefficiency, which have now been put in force for the first time, may bring about a rapid and salutary change. This devoutly-to-be-hoped-for consummation may be hastened by the native and foreign Press of China, which is growing rapidly in importance, general ability, and influence, and is already exerting a great and often beneficent effect on public opinion. The President will have its full support in all his efforts to evolve a good and faithful public service, but it is too soon to foreshadow the outcome of this great fight. It took many years in other countries before honesty could be fairly established in the public services; it will probably

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The financial condition of China has received more attention abroad than any other phase of the situation. It will only be briefly treated here.

When the revolution of 1911-12 began the debt of China was, in round figures, £188,000,000, of which amount about £150,000,000 had been contracted for the payment of indemnities to foreign Powers, and £38,000,000 for productive investments, principally the building of railways. Subsequent to this, and down to the beginning of 1914, there has been added to this amount about £37,600,000, consisting of the "Crisp" and "Reorganization" loans, amounting in all to £30,000,000, and £7,600,000 for short term loans, domestic and foreign, these falling due this year. The annual payments, interest and amortization, on these £225,000,000 approximate £10,000,000. All these loans, exclusive only of the short term ones, are amply secured on the foreign customs receipts and on other revenues of the State. Payments on them as they fall due have been met, but the State has been left impoverished, the provinces, for the most part, for reasons explained previously, not sending their usual quotas to Peking for the expenses of the Government.

While the larger part of the available revenue of the State has been consumed in the payment of its foreign debt, the currency, as a result of at least half a century of constant mismanagement, has reached a chaotic condition, the country has been flooded with an enormous mass of depreciated subsidiary silver and copper coin, and the provincial governments and the native banks have added to the disorder by the issue of vast amounts of paper money without any metallic reserve to support them. Such was, substantially, the situation at the beginning of the present year.

The necessity for monetary reform and the establishment of a uniform national currency has been recognized for years past by the Government as indispensable though extremely difficult. In its treaties of 1902 with Great Britain, and in those of 1903 with the United States and Japan, China pledged herself to carry out these measures. In 1904, and in subsequent years, various edicts bearing on the subject, including a programme of currency reform, were promulgated by the Imperial Government, and various other preliminary steps were taken looking to its initiation. In April, 1911, an agreement was at last signed with an international group of banks for a loan of £10,000,000 sterling for this purpose, but the revolution supervened, the loan was never floated, and, though negotiations were taken up again with the group of banks in the latter part of 1913 and a new currency law promulgated in February, 1914, nothing has, so far, come of them, the Chinese Government wishing only to borrow from the banks for the time being a sum of £8,000,000 to pay off the short term loans, and only later on the funds for currency reform, which it does not feel able to undertake before the provinces have got rid of the debased paper money with which they are at present flooded. The banks, on the other hand, would only consider a loan for currency reform purposes, and took little interest in the redemption of the short term loans. As things have turned out it seems fortunate for China that the negotiations were suspended when they were; if the loan had been agreed to, the war would have prevented its being floated, and the hands of the Chinese Government would have been nevertheless tied.

While fully realizing that without the carrying out of the monetary reform no permanent stability can be reached in financial matters, the Government has found itself able, at least, to help some of the provinces to redeem their paper money, and to extend the operations of the Bank of China and the Bank of

Communications, especially the former, which has contributed greatly in restoring credit throughout the country. In its endeavours the Government has been powerfully assisted by the new Salt Administration, which has been able to supply it regularly since it came into operation in the autumn of last year with a much larger revenue than had been expected by the most sanguine.

As long ago as 1885, George Jamieson, of the British Consular Service in China, writing on the "Revenue of China," advocated the establishment of a uniform scale of taxation of salt and its levy at its place of first sale, after that, free trade all over the country.*

In the spring of 1913 the Government of Peking had signed a loan of £25,000,000 with the international group of banks referred to previously. This loan was made a charge of the entire free revenue of the Salt Administration, which China pledged herself to immediately reorganize "with the assistance of foreigners," and detailed regulations for the proposed service were incorporated in the loan agreement.

The suggestion of George Jamieson has been substantially carried out by the very able foreign "Associate Chief Inspector of the Salt Administration," Sir Richard Dane, K.C.I.E., late of the Indian Civil Service, whose services were secured very shortly after the loan had been agreed upon. Under his energetic and firm management the reorganized Salt Administration was, in a few months, yielding to the Government a revenue equal to that collected by the Chinese Maritime Customs, and was illustrating, as the older service had done, the great immediate advantages which accrue to China by the employment of foreigners of high character and experience in the great task of modernizing her administrative methods. The revenues now being derived from the salt gabelle are enabling the Government to tide over its most pressing difficulties more than all the fiscal expedients, such as title-deed tax, business tax, destination tax, even more than the land tax as it is now collected, and the success attending this reform has been a great stimulus to the Government in its determination to persevere in the face of immense difficulties in its endeavour to relieve China's financial embarrassment by bringing about more efficient and economical methods in the administration of already existing sources of revenue, by the employment of able foreigners, and by the creation of a regular, classified, civil service, rather than by seeking to contract abroad loans for administrative purposes.

Although the provinces have been generally able and willing during the present year, thanks to the disbanding of large numbers of troops and to the growing efficiency of their administrative services, to remit to the Central Government some part, at least, of the monthly quotas due from them for its support, nevertheless, there not being sufficient for all its needs, which included the gradual adjusting of the paper currency in the provinces, in August last the Government decided upon issuing an internal 6 per cent. loan, the first issue being fixed at about £1,600,000. Although decided upon with some not unnatural hesitation (for the Chinese have never in the past been willing to lend freely to their Government their money, have no confidence in its trustworthiness and its business methods), the present internal loan, which was issued on September 1, was fully inscribed within a few days, much to the satisfaction of

* (G. Jamieson) "The Revenue of China." A series of articles reprinted from the *China Mail*. Hongkong, 1885. 8vo., p. 22.

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the Government, which saw in it an indication of its growing popularity, and of the confidence the people were now reposing in its determination and ability to restore and maintain peace, order, and the national credit. It may well be that the judicious election by the Loan Committee of Mr. Aglen, the successor of Sir Robert Hart, as Inspector-General of Maritime Customs, to be co-Director of Accounts, "to manage all the receipts and payments in connexion with the proceeds of the loan," contributed not a little to increase the confidence of subscribers.

The Government was at last able in September to pay its way with the revenues it was receiving by the exercise of the strictest economy and the enforcement of discipline among its servants; something that had not been done since the Revolution first broke out in 1911.*

While the attention of the Government has been principally devoted during this first year of its independent existence to the creation of what it hopes will prove adequate and well-regulated administrative services and to financial questions, the activity it has shown in taking up other matters and in initiating measures for the present welfare and the economic development of the country has been most remarkable. There is hardly a subject which it has not touched, and while it is premature to judge of the permanent value of the work done by the Government, even if all of its orders had already had a commencement of enforcement, which is improbable, still it is most encouraging to note this strong desire of the Government and people to seek to apply discriminatingly the methods and experience of foreign lands wherever they find they can be adapted to their service.

During the year a considerable number of agreements have been entered into by the Government with various foreign companies for the building of new lines of railway, most of them extending, or linking up, trunk lines already in operation. Experience in the past having taught the Chinese the danger of "peaceful penetration" by railways owned and operated by foreigners, the present agreements (as in the case of the lines most recently built for it by foreign firms) provide for the construction of the railways under contract, with general mortgages on the lines as security for the loans to be floated by the contracting companies. The outbreak of war in Europe will, of course, defer for a long time the construction of most, if not all, of the new lines, but they must be constructed some day, as they will prove of great and permanent value both to the State and the people.

In connexion with the subject of railways it is of particular interest to note that, while the nationalization of the railways of China was violently opposed by the provinces just before the outbreak of the Revolution, and was in fact its immediate cause in the province of Ssu-ch'uan, it is now being carried out by the Government in perfect harmony with the provincial shareholders—another striking proof of the growing popularity of the Government and of the confidence now reposed in its railway management, and to the far-reaching reform in railway administration initiated this year to insure greater efficiency, economy,

* By an order of the Ministry of Finance, the amount to be remitted annually by the provinces to Peking for the support of Government is fixed at Tls. 27,900,000, exclusive of the three Eastern (Manchurian) Provinces. The disbursement of the Central Government are at present less than £500,000 a month.

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and uniformity. Early in the year a commission for the "unification of railway accounts and statistics" was organized; its members were the best qualified men available in China (Chinese as well as foreigners), and it was given the expert assistance of Dr. Henry C. Adams, of the United States Interstate Commerce Commission. The committee's conclusions have already been submitted to the Government; their enforcement will probably shortly be ordered, and their important beneficial effect will unquestionably be rapidly felt.

The subject of developing the mineral resources has not been overlooked during this year. In March new mining regulations were promulgated, and, though they have not met with general approval, many foreigners thinking them most unsatisfactory, some important concessions have been granted under them to foreign companies. The most important concession granted during the year is that to the Standard Oil Company of New York, for exploitation of the oil resources of the provinces of Chih-li and Shen-si. The arrangement appears advantageous to all parties concerned, and will, it is thought, stimulate the further development of the large petroleum deposits scattered throughout China.

Some public works of importance have likewise been authorized by Government during the year, and others, already begun some years ago, but discontinued, have been taken up again. The most important work initiated is the proposed reclamation of a large area of over 700 square miles in the province of An-hui, by the conservancy of the Huai River. The preliminary survey made by Colonel W. L. Sibert, of the Corps of Engineers, United States Army, has already been completed, and it is understood that its conclusions are favourable to the undertaking of this important work which it is hoped will be financed in the United States.

The building of an ice-free port at Hu-lu-tao, on the Gulf of Pechili, is to be pushed to completion, and the conservancy of the Liao River at Niu-chuang has been favourably considered by Government, and will, it seems likely, be done at last. Neither of these two important public works require the expenditure of a large sum of money, while they are of vital importance to the trade of a vast, rich, and rapidly developing country.

While the lack of adequate revenue prevents both the Central Government and the provinces from initiating many new enterprises recognized as of great and permanent value to the country, encouragement has been given to private initiative; but the large amount of capital which was withdrawn from productive employment during the last two years, and which is still to a great extent hoarded in the Treaty ports and in other safe places, together with other minor causes, have greatly hampered and retarded the developing of internal trade and the establishing or expanding of promising enterprises, although, everything well considered, the economic revival, already begun in 1913, and which has been since maintained, is very remarkable.

While order has been established throughout the country generally, and the Government's strength and popularity have steadily grown during this year, brigand bands, composed principally of deserters or disbanded soldiers of the revolutionary armies, which began to overrun some of the provinces in 1912, and have not yet been entirely suppressed, although the largest and most active band, that of the "White Wolf," has, after a year's campaign, been finally dispersed and its chief killed. There have been also several cases of mutiny in small bodies of troops, but they have been promptly quelled. As China has hardly ever been quite free from brigandage in some section or other of the country,

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and its soldiery have always been deficient in discipline (judged from a Western point of view), too much importance must not be attached to the existence of these unfortunately chronic sources of irritation, nor to the activities of the various secret societies with which the country has always been honeycombed. As to the revolutionists or anarchists (*luan tang*), among whom are some of the ardent and misguided idealists of the revolutionary period, they are closely watched by the authorities, whether they are in China or abroad; and while they may remain for some time to come a source of irritation to the Government, it seems very unlikely that they can engineer any uprising whatever against it, the mass of the people being disgusted with their methods, no longer believing in their ideals, and absolutely refusing to contribute funds for their propaganda, or even give them tacit sympathy.

Besides the losses of life and property occasioned by the brigands, China has not escaped this year the usual visitations of droughts, floods, and, what is less usual, of locusts. Vast regions in Southern and in Central and Northern China, which in the early summer were broad fields of waving crops, have been swept clean, and the people reduced in many places to destitution, though it is probable that some of the late crops, and the aid the authorities and people can give and are sending them, will keep most of the sufferers (probably several millions) from actual famine.

Education of the people along modern and Western lines has for years past been recognized by the Government of China as a reform of vital importance, and a programme of education was adopted in 1905 and, at vast expense, partially carried out. In 1910 there were said to be 57,267 Government schools in the province (exclusive of Peking), with 89,362 teachers and 1,626,529 pupils, the expenditure on account of which was 24,834,305 taels (approximately £3,500,000). With the outbreak of the revolution, and the complete dislocation of the fiscal system of the country, most of the schools were closed or became disorganized, and the whole matter has since then been taken up again; but financial difficulties have retarded materially its settlement, although the general lines along which the national educational system is to be organized were laid down by a National Educational Conference called by the Minister of Education in the summer of 1912. The various Government special colleges and schools for the technical education of employees in various services of the State, have been maintained, and in the case of some of them reorganized and enlarged.

On July 8 the President issued orders for the creation of an "Educational Fund" of about £1,200,000 for the encouragement of particularly meritorious students by means of annual grants. Their number is not to exceed at any time 1,200, and they are subject to yearly examinations by a special permanent Commission appointed for the purpose. It is hoped that this reward will encourage talented students to pursue their studies and original researches at home or abroad until such time as they can find remunerative employment, when the scholarship lapses. Pending the raising of the full amount of the fund, the Government is to assign an annual sum of £30,000, the interest of the amount of the endowment, so that it may be put at once into operation.

One important result of the disorganization of the educational system, and an indication of the growing appreciation of the people of the excellence of the schools and colleges maintained by foreigners in China, as well as of their recognition of the value of modern educational methods, is found in the largely increased numbers of pupils who have entered these educational establishments

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since the revolution first began. The popularity of the foreign Universities and colleges in China is steadily increasing, and their importance in the general scheme of educational reform fully recognized and appreciated by the authorities.*

It seems probable that technical training will figure much more largely than in the past in the educational system, and that students sent abroad to complete the education given them in Government or missionary Universities or colleges will be chosen from those who have selected careers the exercise of which will be of value in the economic development of China. China wants the West to send back to her, not idealogues imbued with the latest and most impracticable social and political theories, professional politicians in embryo, but common-sense men, able and willing to help, each in his special line, in the upbuilding of the country.

I have only been able to touch in the previous pages on a few of the internal questions which have received attention from the Government of China during the present year. I have not referred to the subject of foreign trade, as sufficient data are not yet in my possession for the purpose. The value of the foreign trade during 1913 established a record, but H.B.M.'s Consul-General at Shanghai was obliged to say of it: "No satisfactory explanation has been offered for this phenomenal advance in trade-return figures in a year which appears to have been stigmatized on most sides as bad for business, and in which external conditions invite the same conclusions."† We can but hope that the year 1914 has in store for us a similar surprise.

The first two months of 1914 appear to have been good from a Customs point of view, and the general tone of business circles in the Treaty ports became distinctly hopeful in May and June, though Customs receipts showed a certain falling-off. The improved financial condition, the Government's steadily increasing popularity, and a growing confidence in its ability to maintain order, justified hopes that the worst had passed, when the declaration of war in Europe upset all calculations, dislocated trade, causing a heavy loss to the Chinese Exchequer, and otherwise prejudicially affected the trade of the whole country. With the assured command of the sea in the hands of the Allies, who are the countries the most interested in Chinese trade, it seems highly probable that its dislocation will be but of short duration; but however short, any blow to China's trade, especially the export, cannot but be most disquieting in the present convalescent state of the country. The war will also result in making it impossible for China, perhaps for a long time to come, to secure the large amount of foreign capital necessary for the rapid development of her railways, of her natural resources, and of her industrial enterprises.

The military operations which Japan has undertaken against Germany in the leased territory of Kiao-chau have obliged China to take such steps as she could for the preservation of her neutrality, but extraordinary difficulties must always confront her in this connexion, arising, for a large part, from the peculiar

* The *Peking Gazette* of May 26, 1914, says that "an investigation made by certain authorities" shows that the number of schools and colleges of various grades maintained by missionary societies in China is—British and American, 3,964 schools with 107,269 pupils; German, 179 schools and 5,384 pupils; Roman Catholic, 5,934 schools and 132,850 pupils.

† Report for the Year 1913 on the Trade of Shanghai, No. 5876, Annual Series, Dipl. and Cons. Reports, p. 3.

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privileged position which foreigners hold under the treaties in "leased territories," "concessions," and "settlements," and their increasingly exaggerated claims of extra-territorial rights, as also from their owning and operating certain lines of railway and other industrial enterprises in the interior. China's neutrality has been so frequently violated in the past by various foreign Powers that it seems fatuous to expect that it will be respected during the present operations in Shantung whenever it serves the purpose of one or the other of the belligerents to violate it. The Chinese Government have, however, taken extraordinary precautions for the strict maintenance of her neutrality, and have given further evidence thereby of their strong desire to maintain unimpaired her good relations with all Treaty Powers.

The foreign relations of China during the past two years have been uneventful. The Government has shown in all negotiations with Treaty Powers a most friendly and accommodating disposition, and its efforts to maintain and strengthen its friendly relations with all the world have been a noteworthy success.

In Outer Mongolia the Khalkas refused to recognize the Government of the Republic, and in December, 1911 (encouraged in this secession by the Russians, who hoped thereby to establish a buffer State along this part of their frontier and acquire exclusive trade-rights in this region), they declared their independence of China. On November 3, 1912, the Urga Convention was signed between Russia and the Khalkhas, but it was only a year later that the Government of Peking found itself in a position to recognize Khalkha autonomy. This it did in an agreement with Russia under certain conditions, accepted Russian mediation to establish relations between Outer Mongolia and China, and agreed to open negotiations at Kiakhta, on the Russian frontier, and in which Russia and the Khalkhas would both participate. The relations of trade between Outer Mongolia and China are so close, and of such long-standing, the dependence of the Mongols on the Chinese in all matters of trade and business so strong, that it was not long before the enthusiasm for independence had subsided, and a well-defined disposition on the part of the Khalkhas to renew close relations with China became evident, and grew rapidly as the disinclination of the Russian Government to take upon itself the sole responsibility for the maintenance and development of Outer Mongolia became better understood by them. The negotiations which were to have taken place at Kiakhta have been delayed, probably by the unwillingness of the Mongols to participate in a discussion *à trois* while there was still the least hope that they might get some foreign Powers to recognize their claim to complete independence. The hope has apparently failed; the Conference was called during the present summer, and has already met (in September) at Kiakhta. The outcome of the negotiations cannot be doubted, the autonomy of Outer Mongolia under Chinese suzerainty will be reaffirmed, trade relations regulated, the status of Chinese settlers defined, and the ultimate result will be that China's hold on Outer Mongolia will gradually become stronger than in the past, and will successfully displace, or keep down, all outside competition.

The problem of Tibet's political status is still unsettled. The exaggerated claim of the Lhasa Government that autonomous Tibet should include the Kokonor region with its mixed population of Tibetans, Mongols, and Chinese, and which at no period of its history has ever been subject to its rule, together with other inadmissible demands, has resulted in the negotiations *à trois* with

the Government of India, initiated in 1913, coming to naught. The question will shortly be taken up again, this time in Peking, under perhaps better conditions for a successful solution. The probable settlement of the Outer Mongolia question in the conference at Kiakhta may point the way to an acceptable settlement of that of Tibet, especially as the trade relations of Tibet with China are quite as vital to its prosperity as they are in the case of Mongolia. The two countries stand in absolutely similar relations to China, their severance of all political ties with it could only result in great and permanent loss to them, but these relations must be placed on a new footing in which the legitimate, essential rights of both Mongolia and Tibet are fully recognized and amply guaranteed, and under which Ambans and Chinese officials can no longer prey on the country and oppress the native authorities and peoples.

Minor questions concerning incidents on the Franco-Chinese and other frontiers have been settled in a most friendly spirit, as have also all other similar matters in other parts of the country, with the exception of that of Pien-ma with Great Britain.

The settlement of the claims of foreigners resulting from losses incurred during the late Revolution have been at last adjusted, and are probably all paid off by now. They would have been settled before this had they in every case been reasonable or well founded; such, unfortunately, has not been the case.

The Peking Government has continued this year to press on the Treaty Powers her very equitable right under the terms of the Final Protocol of September, 1901, to an effective 5 per cent. customs duty on foreign imports promised her by the Signatory Powers. Her right to it is undeniable, and the failure to secure it is, and has been for some years past, causing her Treasury an annual loss of revenue of about half a million sterling—a most serious loss for a country in its embarrassed financial position. Most of the Powers have recognized China's right, and are willing to agree to the increase; some, however, are still holding out, asking for compensation—a most unfair demand in the present case, and one which we may sincerely trust the majority of the Powers will induce them to withdraw at an early date. A prompt settlement would be of extreme value to China at the present moment, when she is, as the effect of the European war, thrown entirely on her own resources.

By Article VIII. of the Treaty of 1902 with Great Britain, China undertook "to discard completely the system of levying *likin* and other dues on goods at the place of production, in transit, and at the destination." The British Government in return agreed that a surtax, equivalent to one and a half times the effective 5 per cent. import duty as provided for in the Protocol of 1901, should be levied on all British imports when once the reform promised by China had been carried out. The same agreement on substantially the same terms was entered into with the United States in the Treaty of 1903.

The carrying out of these provisions, depending on the acceptance by all the Treaty Powers of the surtax on their imports, it seems nearly superfluous to say that they have so far remained a dead letter, some of the Treaty Powers asking absolutely impossible "compensation" for their acceptance, and the Chinese Government, on its side, having been unable to see its way to undertake the reform.* During the past year the informal discussion of the subject has been

* In this connexion the Memorandum submitted to the Ministry of Finance this spring by Mr. Wang Ching-fang, one of the ablest financial agents of the Government, is of particular interest. See *Peking Gazette*, May 8, 1914.

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taken up again by the Government and the Treaty Powers, and it seems now possible, to use the expression of a writer on the subject in a recent issue of a Peking newspaper, that the Government will "grasp the nettle of internal taxation with both hands, and root it up for good and all."

From the preceding résumé of events during the last twelve months, it is hoped that the reader will get some idea of the present condition of China, and will realize the difficulties, both political and economic, that the country has had, and still has, to contend with, and will gather a conception of the methods and experiments being employed in dealing with them. The efficiency of the remedies being applied it is premature to pronounce upon; we should allow them to be fairly tested, and lend our sympathetic support to the country in its efforts to carry them out. There can be no doubt that Government and people are wideawake to the necessity of introducing a fair modicum of political and a great deal of economic, change to give new life to the country. In applying Western theories and methods to the attainment of both these most desirable ends, mistakes will be made, failures encountered, and opposition and distrust raised in China as well as abroad, but the changes will be made in time, and though a long period will probably be required for the reconstruction, the renovated structure will prove all the more solid and serviceable.

November 5, 1914.

OBITUARY

By the death of Mr. A. Cotterell Tupp, LL.D., the Central Asian Society has to regret the loss of an old and valued member—in fact, of one who, in conjunction with Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, laid the foundations of the Society in 1901, from which year onwards he had been continuously the Hon. Treasurer and a Member of Council.

Mr. Tupp, who was born in 1840, was educated at University College, London, where in the year 1860 he obtained a First Class, with honours in Classics and Science. He was selected by competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service in 1861, and in 1862 was posted to the North-West Provinces, where he passed through the usual curriculum of a District Officer's work, and in 1876-77 received the special distinction of being called on to write a portion of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, especially the statistical tables of the North-West Provinces. After sixteen years' service as Magistrate and Judge he was selected for an appointment in the Financial Department of the Government of India, in the higher grades of which he served with success. Ultimately, after managing the finances of four great provinces in succession, and also holding for a short time the responsible post of Comptroller-General to the Government of India, he retired from the service in 1889. He will be best remembered in India for three works which he wrote on "The Competitive Civil Service of India," especially with reference to the mistakes which had been made in the irregular and unsystematic recruitment of that service, which had led to serious blocks in promotion. The result of his agitation was that recruitment was fixed on an actuarial basis, a number of senior men were induced to retire by the grants of accelerated pensions, and promotion has, thanks to Mr. Tupp's endeavours, since proceeded on normal lines, although even now there may be occasional blocks. Mr. Tupp's work in connection with this matter was of the highest permanent value, and his personal exertions were unremitting and praiseworthy. He came to England, and devoted his well-earned leisure to besieging every official at the India Office and elsewhere whom it was necessary to persuade of the justice of his cause, even moving constituencies to influence their M.P.'s in Parliament, till finally his efforts were crowned with success.

Mr. Tupp always took an active interest in economic questions, especially those which concerned the welfare of India. From 1880 to 1895 he was a Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society, and took a prominent part during the Bimetallic Controversy, assisting to form the Bimetallic League in 1881, and the Indian Monetary Association in 1887. After his retirement from India his energy was devoted to a multiplicity of topics, and he frequently lectured before the East India Association. He also took part in the management of University College, London, where he had been educated, and became a life governor of the school as well as of the college. His varied activities led to his studying

and becoming an authority on the relations of India with the foreign countries beyond her borders.

Mr. Tupp published many lectures and papers, especially on the Silver Question, which his long experience of Indian finance specially qualified him for treating; but they, like most works on political economy, are "caviare to the general." In recognition of his labours the University of St. Andrews conferred on him the degree of LL.D.

During the last year or two, consequent on ill-health, Mr. Tupp's familiar face has been missed from the meetings of the Central Asian Society, and he finally passed away on September 27, 1914, at the age of seventy-four. Still, his name will be long remembered in the Central Asian Society as one of its founders and most keen supporters, by Indian officers generally for his exertions in rectifying errors in the organization of the Civil Service, and—although, consequent on the establishment of a gold standard in India, the Bimetallic Controversy is fast passing into oblivion—by that small circle of financial experts and economists who are able to appreciate his contributions to that discussion.

NOTES AND NEWS

University Education in China.—In a single decade, or at least since 1905, China has abolished her ancient educational system, associated with centuries of tradition, and has accepted in large measure the spirit and method of training found in Europe and America. The first great need felt was that for teachers, and normal schools were established rapidly throughout the empire.

In the province of Chihli in the year 1908—the province where Yuan Shih-kai was Viceroy—only three years after the imperial edict abolishing the old learning, the following modern institutions were to be found: 1 university at Tientsin, 1 provincial or high college at Paotingfu, 17 industrial schools, 2 medical colleges, 3 alien language schools, 4 law schools, 1 physical culture and music school, 1 telegraph school, 8 commercial institutions, 5 schools for agriculture, 30 middle schools, 174 upper primary schools, 108 mixed grade primary schools, 8,584 lower primary schools, 181 schools for girls, and 179 half-day and half-night schools. This makes a total of 214,367 students in the province of Chihli alone, together with an additional 17,000 students in the city of Peking.

There is, indeed, no greater revolution in China than that relative to the education of women. In the province of Chihli there were reported recently to be 8,814 women students, distributed under 208 teachers, through 61 different towns, and including two kindergarten training schools, 118 elementary schools, 8 high and 3 normal schools.

A like educational advance is evident throughout the larger cities and the chief provinces of the middle kingdom. Eight thousand students are to be found in Nanking, with 109 schools and 780 teachers, 1 person to every 34 of the Nanking population being represented in these modern institutions. Chihli leads at present with 8,524 institutions, Shantung with 8,523, followed with a long list of provinces claiming an ever-increasing number of young men and young women studying along lines similar to those known in the West. The Imperial University of Peking, which was opened in 1911, embraces virtually all the principal departments of technical and literary study, and the oriental student is trained here in literature, law, natural science, languages, agriculture, commerce, and engineering.

A National Museum for Peking.—Under the Manchu régime valuable collections of porcelain, paintings, jewellery, and other treasures were kept in the Imperial Palaces of Mukden, Jehol, and Peking. With the exception of the Mukden collection, a portion of which could generally be seen on application to the office of the Manchurian Viceroy, these collections were seldom or never accessible to the public, foreign or Chinese. Only on very rare occasions were any of the valuable collection of dynastic portraits at Mukden displayed to view.

At various times since the dethronement of the Manchus there has been serious danger of the whole or a portion of the Imperial collections passing into the hands of Western curio dealers. The Imperial Family appears to have regarded the sale of these treasures as a legitimate method of replenishing its treasury, and dishonest custodians were not averse from disposing of articles the absence of which would not attract attention. There is little doubt that in Mukden, Peking, and especially in Jehol, there was systematic pilfering of the Imperial collections.

A portion of the Imperial Palace in Peking has now been reconstructed and

converted into a National Museum, in which to deposit these national treasures. The accommodation does not at present admit of the exhibition of more than a portion of the collections, amongst which the artificial flowers, etc., made out of jade and other precious stones, figure prominently. The exhibition as at present arranged is thoroughly representative of the Imperial collections, and will undoubtedly prove a great attraction to visitors to the capital.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance.—The original Anglo-Japanese Alliance dates from 1905, when an Agreement was signed by Lord Lansdowne and Viscount Hayashi (August 12, 1905). The Agreement was revised in 1911, by the omission of three articles which had become superfluous, and by the addition of a new article providing that neither party should be compelled by the Alliance to go to war with a Power with whom it had a general arbitration agreement. For all practical purposes, however, the agreement of 1905 is the Agreement of to-day; the Alliance of 1905 is on precisely the same lines as the Alliance of to-day. The articles which have disappeared are those recognizing paramount Japanese interests in Corea, and promising British assistance to Japan if in her war with Russia she were assailed by any other Power. The latter was regarded, and rightly, as the essence of the original contract. It undoubtedly secured, as it was designed to secure, the localization—to use a word more common now than then—of the Russo-Japanese War. Nor was Lord Lansdowne overstating his case when he said that the British Government were “justified in believing” that the conclusion of the Agreement was not without effect in “facilitating the settlement by which the (Russo-Japanese) war was so happily brought to an end.”

HOW JAPAN STANDS.

But by 1911 all that was in the past. Japan and England, in their new Alliance, stood on a more equal footing—in the sense that neither stood to gain, directly and immediately, as Japan had gained in 1905. None the less, the Agreement was, and was intended to be, a very practical thing. Conceivably, in view of the existence of a German squadron in the Far East, based on the port of Tsing-tau, its practical aspects may shortly appear. The parts of the treaty chiefly bearing on the present situation are Section (c) of the preamble and Articles II. and V. According to the preamble the object of the Alliance, apart from the maintenance of peace in the Far East and the preservation of the integrity of China, is “the maintenance of the territorial rights” and “the defence of the special interests” of the two Powers in “Eastern Asia and India.” For this object both Powers agree—

“To communicate with one another fully and frankly.”

“To come to the assistance of their Ally if by reason of unprovoked attack or aggressive action, wherever arising, on the part of any Power or Powers, either High Contracting Party should be involved in war in defence of its territorial rights or special interests mentioned in the preamble.”

“To conduct the war in common,” in such circumstances, and “make peace in mutual agreement.”

“To arrange, through the naval and military authorities, the conditions under which and means by which such assistance is to be made available.”

The Alliance is for ten years, dating from July, 1911, and is then terminable on twelve months' notice. It is provided, however, that if, on the date of expiry, either Ally is actually at war, the Agreement shall continue till peace is concluded.

The Text of the Agreement is as follows :

PREAMBLE.—The Government of Great Britain and the Government of Japan, having in view the important changes which have taken place in the situation since the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement of August 12, 1905, and believing that a revision of that Agreement responding to such changes would contribute to general stability and repose, have agreed upon the following stipulations to replace the Agreement above-mentioned, such stipulations having the same object as the said agreement, namely :

(a) The consolidation and maintenance of the general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India.

(b) The preservation of the common interests of all Powers in China by ensuring the independence and the integrity of the Chinese Empire, and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China.

(c) The maintenance of the territorial rights of the High Contracting Parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India, and the defence of their special interests in the said regions.

ARTICLE I.—It is agreed that whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, any of the rights and interests referred to in the preamble of this Agreement are in jeopardy, the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly, and will consider in common the measures which should be taken to safeguard those menaced rights or interests.

ARTICLE II.—If by reasons of unprovoked attack or aggressive action, wherever arising, on the part of any Power or Powers, either High Contracting Party should be involved in war in defence of its territorial rights or special interests mentioned in the preamble of this Agreement, the other High Contracting Party will at once come to the assistance of its Ally, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with it.

ARTICLE III.—The High Contracting Parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with another Power to the prejudice of the objects described in the preamble of this Agreement.

ARTICLE IV.—Should either High Contracting Party conclude a treaty of general arbitration with a third Power, it is agreed that nothing in this agreement shall entail upon such Contracting Party an obligation to go to war with the Power with whom such treaty of Arbitration is in force.

ARTICLE V.—The conditions under which armed assistance shall be afforded by either Power to the other in the circumstances mentioned in the present Agreement, and the means by which such assistance is to be made available, will be arranged by the Naval and Military Authorities of the High Contracting Parties, who will from time to time consult one another fully and freely upon all questions of mutual interest.

ARTICLE VI.—The present Agreement shall come into effect immediately after the date of its signature, and remain in force for ten years after that date.

In case neither of the High Contracting Parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of the said ten years the intention of terminating it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the High Contracting Parties should have denounced it. But if, when the date fixed for its expiration arrives, either Ally is actually engaged in war, the alliance shall, *ipso facto*, continue until peace is concluded.

The Agreement was signed, for Great Britain by Sir Edward Grey ; for Japan by Mr. Takaaki Kato, the Japanese Ambassador at the Court of St. James.

From the Birmingham Daily Post.

Tsing-Tau.—Tsing-tau, the capital of Kiao-chau, was, when taken over by Germany in 1899, small and insignificant, but its possibilities were easily recognizable. Tsing-tau itself was a little fishing village on the shore of Kiao-chau Bay. But the bay itself was destined, whether under Germany or under China, to become a great commercial port and a strong naval base. Situated at the eastern end of the Shantung province, it was admirably adapted for a Power wishing to introduce her produce into one of the most densely-populated districts in China. Nature, too, had made it an admirable harbour. The bay, nearly 200 square miles in extent, had an entrance no more than two miles wide. Round this bay Germany "leased" a narrow strip which, with the islands in the bay, came to another 200 square miles. Round this, again, was a second belt about thirty miles wide consisting of "neutralized" land. In point of fact, this territory, nearly 8,000 square miles, was virtually German. Here were all the elements of a great German port.

Germany must have spent something like £20,000,000 on Tsing-tau. To the north-west was built a mole three miles long, to give additional security against the prevailing wind. Piers and jetties, waterworks and barracks, were built, and round these sprang up the adjuncts of the great port—hospitals and warehouses, schools, hotels, private houses. To-day the tiny fishing village has become a port, a naval base, a popular seaside resort. Its shores are lined with wharves, its streets are clean and carefully planned, its hills are crowded with the houses of foreigners and of the few Chinese who are allowed to inhabit the place. And with the building of the Shantung Railway, Tsing-tau began to progress as a port. When war broke out, Shanghai and Tientsin were beginning to grow anxious. The exports of the place in 1912 were valued at two and three-quarter million pounds, the imports at four millions. The population of the little fishing village had grown to over 60,000.

But it was also a place of great naval importance. Easily defensible, it was in an excellent strategic position. A strong force based there practically commands the China Sea, and overlooks three-quarters of Chinese and Japanese trade. That Germany accepted and appreciated this is obvious from the fact that all along Kiao-chau has been under the Navy Department and not the Colonial Office. Precisely what its defences were is not quite certain. The bay and the surrounding waters were mined. The nearer hills were crowned with forts reputed impregnable to sea attack, and mounting 200 Krupp guns. On land the position was scarcely as strong. Bernhardt, years ago, wanted another half-million spent on the land defences to make them impregnable. Their general character is pretty well known, and determined the nature of the Allies' operations.

Kiao-chau Bay is surrounded by two belts of hills. The one close up against the bay is fortified. Outside it is a belt of level country, sloping upwards to a second and larger range of hills twenty miles away.

Japanese Ship-building.—Professor Terano of the Imperial University of Tokyo gives in the *Glasgow Herald* of December 30, 1914, the following interesting account:

"The war in Europe has had a certain definite effect on industry so far away as Japan from the areas directly interested. As a natural consequence of the hostilities imports from Europe have been practically suspended and Japanese

shipbuilders are now suffering from the lack of materials. The necessity of promoting home industries in order that her shipbuilding may become perfectly self-supporting has never been felt so keenly as at present. This matter is now under careful consideration, but it is very difficult to make any predictions regarding the result. Then, again, the building of steam trawlers, which was once a very prosperous industry in Japan, has practically ceased owing to the over-production and the gradual decrease in the earnings of these vessels. But the adoption of oil motors in small fishing craft is showing steady progress, there being at present about 3,000 motor fishing vessels scattered all over Japan. The number of these is increasing with wonderful rapidity, and motor building has now become a very important industry.

As to the mercantile marine, three 12,000 ton liners—the *Suwa Maru*, the *Yasaka Maru*, and the *Fushimi Maru*—built for the Nippon Yusen Kaisha's European service—were completed during 1913, and three 7,500 ton cargo steamers, one fitted with geared turbines of 5,000 i.h.p., one a 5,500 ton passenger steamer, two cargo steamers of 3,200 tons each, built on the Isherwood system, and also a large number of coasting steamers, were launched, while there was considerable activity in the building of small craft. Of new work now on hand there are two 10,000 ton steamers, one 7,500 ton steamer, and many others on the stocks at the principal shipyards, but with very little prospects of fresh orders in the immediate future.

The year was, however, a record one in the history of Japanese shipbuilding, having superseded all its predecessors in the matter of total output. The most important and most interesting vessel launched was the battleship *Fuso*, of 30,600 tons displacement. She was floated out of the new building dock at Kure in March. She carries twelve 14-inch guns in six turrets, all arranged on the centre line, and she is the largest and most powerful battleship now afloat. There are besides three sister ships under construction—the *Yamashiro* at Yokosuka Naval Yard; the *Hiuga* at the Mitsu-Bishi Works, Nagasaki; and the *Ise* at the Kawasaki Dockyard, Kobe. All the guns are of purely Japanese design, and they are now in course of construction at the Kure Arsenal and also at Muroran Steel Foundry in Hokkaido. The engines of the vessels consist of turbines of the Brown-Curtis type, and with Japanese Navy type water-tube boilers, excepting the *Hiuga*, in which Parsons turbines are to be installed; the machinery is all being built in Japan. The materials used in the construction of the vessels are also supplied from the Imperial Steel Works at Wakamatsu.

The battle cruiser *Hiyei*, a sister ship to the Barrow-built *Kongo*, was completed last summer, and is now engaged in active service; while her other two sisters—the *Kirishima* and the *Haruna*—are undergoing speed trials. After the outbreak of the present war a supplementary Budget was passed in a special sitting of the Diet held in September for the construction of ten destroyers, each of 600 tons and 9,600 i.h.p., to be completed in about six months. The principal private firms are invited to assist in this new construction, two each having been ordered from the Mitsu-Bishi Works and from the Kawasaki Dockyard, and one each from the Osaka Iron Works and the Uraga Dock Company. The others are to be built in the Imperial Dockyards, home-made materials only being used in the construction of the hulls, engines, and equipments.

NEW MEMBERS.

Mrs. McCoy, Mr. M. Ingram, Mr. W. J. C. Laurie, Mr. Alwyn Parker, Captain H. Tryon, and Colonel Maunsell, have been elected members of the Society.

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SOME PAST AND PASSING FEATURES OF THE SITUATION IN CHINA*

BY DUNCAN H. MACKINTOSH

WHEN I received the honour of an invitation from your Council to read you a paper on matters in China, it was not until I had first been given assurances that all short-comings on my part in dealing with these matters in a manner worthy of the traditions of your learned Society would be treated leniently, that I accepted the invitation.

I was, moreover, encouraged to accept it for the following reasons:

My residence in the Far East extended over a period of thirty-one years, in the service of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank.

Of that period I had the honour of representing that bank at Tientsin from 1895 to almost the close of 1913, when I retired. This latter period (1895 to 1913) was admittedly one of the most important and one of the most eventful in the recorded history of China.

During that time I was thrown into business contact and social intercourse with very many high Chinese officials, Viceroy at Tientsin and others, two of whose names will at least be familiar to you, those of Li Hung Chang and the present and enlightened President of China, Yuan Shih-Kai. It was for these reasons, then, that I ventured to think that any remarks which I might make to you this afternoon, as coming from one recently on the spot, might perhaps be invested with some degree of interest. Great events in China during the period which I have named have crowded upon each other's heels in such rapid succession, with so many complications left in their train, that it is small wonder that the great majority of people at home have been quite unable to follow them clearly, and consequently get a somewhat confused view of what has been happening.

Blue Book after Blue Book has been published. But the mere sight of a Blue Book gives the average man a cold shudder.

In any case, owing to the mass of correspondence contained in Blue Books, it would take someone thoroughly acquainted with China to act as guide to conduct the would-be student through its labyrinths.

Having made these remarks by way of introduction, I shall now proceed with my subject.

In connection with the present war in Europe, the question

* Read January 20, 1915, Sir Frederic Fryer, K.C.S.I., in the Chair.

which seems at the present time to be uppermost in the public mind is what effect is likely to be produced on China, through the passing of the territory at Kiao Chow from the hands of Germany into the hands of our ally Japan.

The question is admittedly one of great importance.

But if the lessons of the past form a guide for the future, then the question must be examined in the light of historical facts.

In order to form any kind of judgment we must first see and understand what effects were produced in China—and there were many—when Germany seized Kiao Chow for the murder of two missionaries. We must also consider at the same time what effects were produced on those foreign Powers having relations with China whose interests at once became involved when Germany suddenly, with no previous communication with the Chinese Government, committed this act of aggression on the mainland of China, “in obedience,” as Admiral von Diedrich’s proclamation of 14 November, 1897, ran, “to the commands of the Emperor of Germany.”

As in Belgium, so it was in China; this manifestation of the “Mailed Fist” was at variance with the provisions of a treaty—or should I say a “scrap of paper,” according to the most recent definition? At any rate these “scraps of paper” seem to be made of highly combustible material, from the explosions which follow their being touched.

The treaty in question was the document known as the Treaty of Tientsin, negotiated by that great statesman Lord Elgin for Great Britain, with Prince Kung and others for China, in 1858.

Up to this very day it remains the working chart for the mutual guidance of relations between the two countries. Under its wise provisions peace has been maintained between the two countries, whilst commerce, its main objective, has steadily swelled year after year to its present large dimensions. Under the most favoured nation clause in that Treaty all other nations, Germany included, independently secured equal opportunities for their commerce and industry. It represented a fair field and no favour.

Let us see what a great authority in Chinese matters—an American writer, Mr. H. B. Morse—has to say about Lord Elgin and his treaty in his book, “The International Relations of the Chinese Empire,” from which I quote: “Lord Elgin was one who could think imperially. His object was to leave behind him a situation which should conduce to peace and not to continued friction; and his treaty has been the rule governing China’s international relations during the more than half a century which has elapsed since its signature.

“The verdict of posterity has been that history has justified his assertion that, ‘I have been China’s friend in all this,’ and that in following this policy he also best served British interests.”

All German merchants in China enjoyed equal rights with all their competitors. They had lived in peace and that friendly intercourse with British and other foreigners which is one of the most pleasant features of life in China. They had neither part nor lot in this act, in which is easily recognized the hands of the German "Mailed Fist" party. Always standing behind that party, and exercising a powerful influence over its councils as a "voice behind the Throne," was the great firm of Krupps. There are very strong reasons for believing this to be true in the case of China, and that the influence of that firm in China made itself felt when that country was hesitating before taking the plunge of going to war with Japan in 1894 over the state of affairs in Corea.

What took place was this: in addition to seizing Kiao Chow, Germany made certain demands on China for the murder of the two missionaries. One was for a zone of 50 kilometres around Kiao Chow, in which Germany demanded sovereign rights for ninety-nine years. In another the Chinese Government were required to defray the cost of occupation of Kiao Chow. The last demand was that Germany be accorded preferential rights for the building of railways and working of mines in the Province of Shantung. China's protests were in vain, and she had to accede to the "Mailed Fist," if I may again borrow the then newly coined phrase of the Kaiser's about Kiao Chow.

The most favoured nation clause was thus infringed, as our Minister in Peking pointed out at the time, and the balance of power in China rudely upset.

Our Ambassadors in St. Petersburg, Paris, and Tokio, sent despatches reporting the grave views held in each of these capitals of the incidents. Of these the most prophetic, as after events proved, was that of Japan.

Sir Ernest Satow, our Ambassador there, reported: "The general opinion in Japanese official circles seems to be that a prolonged or possibly permanent occupation of Kiao Chow would imperil the peace of the Far East."

The Russian semi-official organ *Novosti*, in a significant article, made at the same time the following amongst other comments:

"If Germany is not deterred by protests on the part of the other Powers, the occupation of Kiao Chow will form a very convenient excuse to ask the Reichstag to grant a further increase of the navy. If, therefore, Germany declines to evacuate Kiao Chow, Russia on her side will have every right to occupy in retaliation some portion of Chinese territory."

In the Reichstag itself there was some sharp criticism. Herr Bebel said that from the "lawless way it was carried out it would have justified foreign governments in sending a Kruger telegram to the Emperor of China," and significantly went on to say the "noise about China is

to cover the naval vote." But the voices of the critics were the voices of those crying in the wilderness.

As to Great Britain, it must be borne in mind that our vast and preponderating interests in China are purely of a commercial nature. All that Great Britain wants, or has ever wanted, to see is a prosperous and independent China.

The history of British diplomacy is one of a strenuous and prolonged struggle for preserving the open door and the independence and the integrity of China. The ultimate expression of these efforts is to be found in the Treaty of January 30, 1902, with our ally Japan, the preamble of which says, speaking of China: "The Governments of Great Britain and Japan . . . being specially interested in maintaining the independence and territorial integrity of the Empire of China in securing equal opportunities in that country for the commerce and industry of all nations, hereby agree . . ." Then follow the articles of the defensive and offensive alliance.

In this long struggle Great Britain had the assistance of another very powerful though invisible ally, whose forces were accumulating all the time. The name of that ally was Fair Dealing.

When the bolt from the blue descended in China, the indignation felt by the Chinese can be better imagined than described. It would be superfluous for me to enter into it, and I shall leave it at that.

Throughout the foreign communities in China grave misgivings were felt as to the consequences of this fateful step. The Chinese Government thereafter regarded with suspicion all the big foreign Powers and the railway projects put forward by their nationals.

I will take as an illustration of my meaning certain passages which appeared in a Memorial to the throne from the powerful Viceroy of Wuchang (Hankow), Chang Chih Tung, and the State Director-General of Railways in China, Sheng Hsüan-huai.

The Memorial of March, 1898, three months after the seizure of Kiao Chow, was a prayer to the Emperor for the construction of a railway-line between Hankow, in the Yangtze, to Canton, in the south, for the better protection of the country. The translation of this Memorial is to be found in the Blue Book of China, No. 1, 1899, from which I take the following:

"The powerful foreign nations stand around watching for their opportunity, and, making trivial pretexts in the conduct of international affairs, swiftly despatch their warships from one end of the Empire to the other. It is impossible to say when our communication by sea may be blocked; therefore the establishment of internal communications has become a necessity. . . . Recently Germany has unreasonably stirred up trouble, and has seized the important positions of Kiao Chow and Chimo. She has also secured the privileges of railway con-

struction in Shantung Province, thus reversing the former condition of affairs."

These final words, it will be noted, referred to the infringement by Germany of the favoured-nation clause of the Treaties.

The Memorialists went on to show their apprehensions of this line falling into the hands of powerful foreign nations, stating that in such a case, "Not only is our throat stopped by the foreigners being in possession of our ports, but our vitals are injuriously affected. Should we wish to raise and drill soldiers, make arms, or obtain funds for the necessity of the Empire, it will be impossible, and China will not only *not make progress*, but we fear we shall barely be able to maintain our independence." They went on to say that they had approached Belgium, remarking: "But Belgium is a small country, and her strength is inconsiderable, and often she has pointed out that an unfinished railroad is hardly a sufficient guarantee for a loan." "There are grave objections to allowing France, England, or Germany, to undertake the work," the Memorialists went on to say, in suggesting as an alternative the United States.

The apprehensions and fears expressed as to ulterior designs on the part of the Great Powers, I may here remark, seem to account for the fact that the Chinese Government gave the contract for the building of the Peking-Hankow line to Belgium, and that some three years ago they gave the contract for the projected great trunk line running, roughly speaking, east and west from the western confines of China to the sea, thus lying athwart the line running north and south, to the same power—Belgium. The estimated cost of the latter railway is about £10,000,000.

Early in March of the year 1898 came the news that Russia was negotiating with China for twenty-five years' lease of Port Arthur and the adjoining harbour of Talienwan, which she subsequently obtained. She gave assurances that nothing would be done to infringe the favoured-nation clause of the Treaty of Tientsin or other existing Treaties, nor would she demand sovereign rights in the leased territories. The occupation took place on March 28, 1898.

Thereupon Great Britain negotiated for, and obtained lease of, Wei-hai-wei, which she occupied on May 24, 1898. China was accorded facilities for using the harbour for her warships so as to inconvenience her as little as possible. The object, of course, was to restore as far as possible the lost balance of power as a means towards preventing the threatened dismemberment of China.

Prince Henry of Prussia arrived in Peking in May. By command of the Kaiser he conferred the Order of the Black Eagle on the Emperor of China, not the Order of the Black Eye, which, in given circumstances, were his original instructions when he left Potsdam. This Order of

the Black Eagle is, curiously enough, now in the possession of a well-known Shanghai stockbroker.

Prince Henry in the same summer visited Kiao Chow, Port Arthur, and Wei-hai-wei, on a German warship. He observed to an Englishman that at Kiao Chow he saw thousands of coolies putting up fortifications. At Port Arthur he saw tens of thousands engaged in the same operation.

At Wei-hai-wei all that he saw taking place was two British officers laying out a cricket-pitch. "The world is yours," he is said to have added.

On June 11 of the same year, 1898, the Emperor issued the first of a remarkable series of decrees calling for reform, from which I take the following pregnant remarks :

"For a long time the condition of Imperial affairs has been the subject of discussion among the officials of the Empire, both metropolitan and provincial, with a view to "bring about necessary changes for improvement. Decrees have been frequently issued by the Emperor for a special system of examinations, for doing away with the surplus soldiery, for the alteration of military examinations, and for the institution of colleges.

"In spite of the fact that these things have so often been carefully thought out, and so many plans have been formed, there is no general consensus of opinion, and discussion is still rife as to which plans are best. There are some among the older officials *who affirm that the old ways are best* and need no alteration, and that the new plans are not required. Such babblings are vain and useless.

"The Emperor puts the question before you thus : In the present condition of Imperial affairs, with an untrained army, with limited funds, with ignorant *literati*, and with artisans untaught because they have no fit teachers, is there any difficulty in deciding, when China is compared with foreign nations, who is the strong and who is the weak ? It is easy to distinguish between the rich and the poor. How can a man armed with a wooden stick spite his foe encased in a coat of mail ?" An obvious hit at the "Mailed Fist."

"The Emperor sees that the affairs of China are in an unsettled condition, and that his various decrees have availed nothing. Diversity of opinion, each unlike another as fire differs from water, is responsible for the spread of the existing evil.

"Now, therefore, the Emperor orders all officials, metropolitan and provincial, from princes down to *literati*, to give their whole minds to a real endeavour to improvement. With perseverance, like that of the saints of old, do your utmost to discover which *foreign country* has the best system in any branch of learning, and learn that one. Your great fault is the falseness of your present knowledge. Make a special effort, and determine to learn the best of everything. Do not

merely learn the outside covers of the books of knowledge, and do not make a loud boast of your own attainments. The Emperor's wish is to change what is now useless into something useful, so that proficiency may be attained and handed on to posterity."

The reforms advocated aroused the whole force of the old conservative and reactionary party within and without the Palace and the Grand Council, and a bitter struggle ensued, in which the Emperor was finally overthrown and confined, and six of his councillors summarily beheaded. The Empress-Dowager once more took the reins of the coach with the reactionaries on board, which finally landed in the ditch of the Boxer outbreak, and siege of Tientsin and Peking.

The whole of this thrilling and pathetic story of the reform movement is so well and so vividly told in the pages of that remarkable book, "China under the Empress-Dowager," that comment by me is unnecessary. After these events came the Russo-Japanese War, which was fought on Chinese soil.

The above professes to be no more than a rough outline of some, not all, of the aftermath of disastrous events which followed in the wake of the German seizure of Kiao Chow. Kiao Chow has always been a thorn in the side of China, all the more acutely felt because of the enormous fortifications erected there, costing some millions of pounds. German culture, as applied in this way to Chinese soil, had in Chinese eyes an ugly and menacing look. Kiao Chow was a *point d'appui*, as a German Chancellor called it, or fulcrum, from which Germany could bring to bear a tremendous amount of influence on China.

With regard to the question of the change of tenancy, all that I have now got to observe is that our ally Japan stands with Great Britain for maintaining the independence and integrity of China. She has given an undertaking to restore Kiao Chow in due course to its rightful owners, the Chinese. We know that Japan respects and keeps her obligations. I venture to think that by the removal of the series of complications to which the position of Germany in China gave rise, we shall see a happier and brighter state of things in China. Internally, with the adoption of a new form of Government, will she have to work out her own salvation in her own way. All that we know is that in Yuan Shih Kai she has a very enlightened President and a very strong man, who commands the respect of all who are brought in contact with him.

With regard to the foregoing, and with regard to loans to the Chinese Government, we have heard criticisms as to matters such as Five Power Loans. If those who made such criticisms could only realize the difficult part our statesmen and Ministers have had to play with regard to China, they would have paused and considered as to the advisability of making them, I venture to think.

With regard to another subject, railway development in China, when I first went to Tientsin there were then only 175 miles of railway open. That was the line between Tientsin and Shanhai Kwau. There are now, roughly, some 6,000 miles open.

On my arrival at Tientsin, I had to ride up immediately to Peking, which is eighty miles from Tientsin—a journey which can now be made in under three hours. I rode up, as that was preferable to a jolting cart. On my return to Tientsin, still rather stiff in my joints after my ride, I met that distinguished English engineer, Mr. Kinder. As a stranger in the north, I asked him when we might expect to have a railway connecting Tientsin with Peking. He replied jokingly, "The line between Peking and Tientsin will probably be the last line to be built in China." He was referring, of course, to the exclusiveness of the capital.

But a new spirit was abroad even then, in 1895, and it was rather a matter of surprise to me that very winter to find myself almost daily engaged in negotiations with the Chinese State Railway Director, Hu Yun Mai, a dear old Chinese gentleman, afterwards appointed Governor of Peking, for a loan for the construction of the line from Tientsin to Peking, which was then begun. The advances made at the time were subsequently merged with the cost of further extensions, and paid off by the loan floated in London known as the Imperial Railways of North China Loan of 1899 for £2,300,000. The line which forms part of the security for this loan is a very important one, because it leads to the Chinese Capital, Peking. With a view to preserving the integrity of China, it was essential to see that under no pretext should it be wrested from or hypothicated to any Power, and that its control should not pass out of Chinese hands. The journey to Peking can now be made in under three hours.

One must visit China to realize fully how much railways are needed there, and how materially those constructed have added to the prosperity of the country. I will take the trade of Tientsin as being a typical example. Shipments of wool form one of the main staples of export trade in Tientsin. It is taken off the sheeps' backs in the Province of Kansuh, which borders on Thibet. That wool used to take four to six months on its journey (a little less now with railway development) to Tientsin, borne by water on the Yellow River to a point where the river takes its bend to the south, then by caravans of camels to Tungechow, then again by river to Tientsin, thence to America or Europe by steamer.

If we consider the cost of handling at each stage and the cost of carriage, and add the interest on the money from the time that it left the sheeps' backs until it reached the consumers' hands, say six to eight months, you can safely say that it is only in China where such a trade could exist in open competition with wool from more favoured

countries, because there is no such trade in the wide world to compare with this particular trade in the time occupied in its transit.

I have travelled over the following railway systems: Tientsin-Puchow (Puchow is on the Yangtze), Peking-Hankow, Peking-Kalgan, Tientsin-Moukden, Moukden-Dalny, Port Arthur, Moukden-Harbin, Shanghai-Nanking Railways. Wherever one goes one sees striking evidence of what railways are doing in the carriage of both freight and passengers in that fertile, highly industrious, and thickly populated country.

Throughout all their trouble, the recent rebellion included, the Chinese motto seems to be "Business as usual." Their ingenuity in overcoming difficulties is simply marvellous, and year by year their trade expands. Owing to the present war their trade has suffered to some extent. The total collections of Chinese revenues has fallen, according to a recent Reuter's telegram, from Tls. 43,969,000 at 31 December, 1913, to Tls. 38,907,000 at 31 December, 1914. This, expressed in sterling, amounts to a fall of some £600,000. The southern ports were the principal sufferers. That busy centre, Shanghai, actually registered an increase in the Customs Revenue.

When, to go no further, we remember that the *Emden* and her consorts were at large for some months of the war, threatening merchandise, exports, and imports on the water, this falling off was inevitable. For the purposes of trade it is preferable to have your goods on land than at the bottom of the sea.

It is satisfactory to note that the salt revenue, which forms the security for the Quintuple or Five Power Reorganization Loan of 1913 for £25,000,000, actually exceeded the Maritime Customs Revenue, after deduction of all expenses net revenue—\$57,833,756, nearly treble what loan service requires. This result is due to Sir Richard Dane's successful administration. He had at the outset enormous difficulties with vested interests to contend with. His ability and tact overcame these obstacles. Incidentally he has raised Chinese credit in a most remarkable way.

With regard to Chinese loans, it is satisfactory to note that China has punctually met all her engagements to December 31, as my late colleague in the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, Sir Charles Addis, courteously informs me. There is one most important reform with which China has to deal: that is the reform of her currency.

We all know the importance which countries attach to their currency. Evidence of this is found in the fact that in every coin in our pockets we find the image of a past, or present, or reigning sovereign on it. Currency has been called the great circulator and distributor of merchandise. Adam Smith compared it to "the road along which commerce travels." If the road is bad, then commerce will meet with difficulties, and sometimes insurmountable obstacles. A great political

economist said: "A bad currency is a national evil of the first magnitude."

It seems paradoxical, but nevertheless true, that such a practical people as the Chinese have neglected this question. There is no State control over the mints, or silver smelting shops as they are called in China. These are instead semi-private establishments. For the purposes of trade the circulating medium is in ingots of silver, which are not only of different weight, but of different fineness. The number of well-known taels or weights in China is 170. There should, of course, be only one. Just imagine what would happen if we had 170 different kinds of sovereigns or shillings in this country! How should we get on with business?

In two treaties of comparatively recent times China has undertaken to reform her currency. But she has had her hands full lately, and we must not be impatient. The national wealth of a country lies in the industry of her people—that is an axiom. China is one of the most industrious nations in the world. Those who live there have the daily evidence of that truth before their eyes. Her resources, with a population of some 400,000,000, are accordingly great, which I venture to think will become more and more apparent as railway development proceeds. With regard to British interests in China, we have a faithful custodian in that devoted servant of the Crown, Sir John Jordan, in whom the whole British communities in China have the most implicit confidence.

Mr. J. W. JAMIESON, C.M.G., asked whether the whole of the salt revenue had been brought under Sir Richard Dane's control. At one time there were four or five principal centres of manufacture, but at least one-third of the whole production was in Szechuen. He had not yet ascertained whether the factories there had been brought under control.

Mr. MACKINTOSH said he was afraid he did not know. From what Sir Richard Dane told him soon after his appointment, he understood that his policy was to push his way step by step, gradually acquiring the necessary control in the face of the most intense opposition. As to how far he had succeeded in completely covering the ground he did not know.

Sir LOUIS DANE, ex-Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, said: I do not pretend to be an authority on China, though I think at the early age of two I nearly left my bones there. So much has been said about my brother, Sir Richard Dane, that I am sure his ears must be tingling at all the praise bestowed upon him. When he writes to me he says little of his achievements, for he is one of the most modest men who ever lived. He was staying with me in April, 1913, in the Punjab, and one day I received a telegram from the Chinese Minister

in London asking if I knew where he was, and if he was prepared to go to China to reorganize the salt administration. As some of you may know, my brother is a keen shikari, and with an expenditure of a considerable amount of money and trouble he had arranged for a very extensive shooting tour from the Cape to Cairo. He was not in the least disposed to give up this alluring prospect for the administration of salt revenue in China. However, I had a strenuous argument with him, and pointed out that he really knew something about salt, which very few people do, and that if he did not go to China some one of the numerous contending nationals there would take over the administration of the salt gabelle, which would be a serious loss to British prestige. So, very reluctantly, he consented to go. The reason why he was selected is that for about fourteen years he had been intimately concerned in India with the administration of salt revenue, first as Commissioner of Northern India Salt Revenue, and afterwards as Inspector-General of Salt and Excise. During that period the Chinese Government sent over two officials to India to sit at his feet and learn how salt should be administered. Also he was rather intimately connected with Lord Brassey's Opium Commission. It might have been supposed that the Chinese Government would not have wished a gentleman who had been connected so closely with that inquiry to take high office, but apparently what they knew of him predisposed them in his favour.

I have great difficulty in extracting from my brother what he is doing and how he is getting on officially, and I generally get my information in this respect from the *Times*. But he did write to me not long since on his return from short leave in England, and went so far as to say that, after a great deal of trouble, he really believed that he had convinced the Chinamen that they had a great asset in the salt revenue, and that they were now co-operating most heartily with him in all his schemes. At first neither they nor anybody else thought that he would make anything out of the salt gabelle; and I remember reading in the *Times* and other papers articles showing that it was a wild-goose chase to send anyone to China to deal with that matter. He has turned his long previous experience in India to account; and his office system is very much the same, though not yet so efficient, while generally he has been working on the lines on which the Salt Department is worked in India, though, as in India, local peculiarities and necessities are carefully considered. He has personally inspected all the salt sources, except those in Yunan and Szechuen, and I believe that at the present moment he is in Szechuen. The Chinese Government began by regarding him as a very troublesome but very valuable person—very much as an entomologist regards a strange bug he has caught under his glass, which he does not dare to let loose, and yet does not know what to do with it there; and he had to be very insistent in

doing battle for salt as a source of revenue for the Central Government. You will be interested to hear that in the past year, after providing for the whole expenditure of the department for eighteen months in advance, he has had the pleasure of handing to the Chinese Government a net sum of £4,000,000, an amount which neither he nor they ever expected to be realized. I feel it due to the meeting to give this information, though I am perfectly certain I shall get into trouble with my brother for explaining how he went to China and what he is doing there.

Mr. MACKINTOSH said that, when he was speaking of Sir Richard Dane, he had not the slightest idea that any relative of his was present, far less that his distinguished brother was there.

Mr. E. R. P. MOON said the reference to British prestige by Sir Louis Dane and a remark made in the paper led him to put a question. They had been told of the great effect on Chinese public opinion of the occupation by Germany of Kiao Chow, which constituted a breach of international agreement. It was suggested that they were perturbed and alienated by the fact that a footing was being obtained on Chinese soil by a European Power. It was nearly seventy-five years since the island of Hong Kong was taken and occupied by us, and perhaps any hostile sentiment which that act might have engendered had long since passed away. But perhaps Mr. Mackintosh would tell them his view of the future of China generally in respect to her relations with Great Britain. He asked the question because not long since the *Times* gave a long extract from some Peking paper in which the native writer expressed himself in strong opposition to English influence.

Mr. MACKINTOSH said he remembered reading the article in the *Times*, and the effect on his mind at the time was one of surprise that a paper which had given such valuable support to the cause of Chinese progress should publish such an article, which seemed to him inspired by someone having an interest in Kiao Chow. If our interests in China stood on such a foundation as that, our position there would be indeed precarious. The value of good relations with Britain, alike from a trading and political point of view, was recognized by the Chinese Government and people. As to the Chinese Press, it was notorious that for a little consideration you might get any article published you cared to pay for; so he attached little importance to the extract. He noticed that the *Times* was careful to indicate that the communication came not from their own representative in Peking, but from "A Correspondent." They had lately heard that the paper quoted—the *Peking Daily News*—had been acquired by the Germans, so he did not think they need trouble about it.

In answer to Mr. Moon's question, he pointed out that the Germans made speedy use of their position at Kiao Chow. They had secured preferential rights for building railways in Shantung, and they at once formed a railway company, which built a line tapping the important

market centres in Shantung. It brought down great and growing trade to Kiao Chow. Wherever a railway was put in China, they found it carrying in a very short time a large amount of freight. It was quite true that China was well supplied with waterways, but, especially in the north, they had not got navigable canals, and therefore the railways would play a most important part in the development of China. He remembered that at one period, when it was discovered that beans could be made into soap, almost at once there came through the Manchurian lines beans to the value of £2,000,000. Three years ago the price of linseed went up very high owing to scarcity. The trade had been unknown in Tientsin, but it suddenly sprang into existence, and crops for the production of linseed were grown for the first time near Peking. When they looked at these facts they saw how quickly trade responded to railway facilities, and could better understand the promptitude with which Germany turned her footing on the mainland to account.

Sir WALTER HILLIER said that he had been informed by the Chinese Minister that the translation in the *Times* from the Peking paper to which reference had been made was extremely bad, and did not correctly represent the sentiments of the writer. The Chinese Minister promised to send him a copy of the original text, but he had not received it yet, as it had somehow been mislaid.

The CHAIRMAN: We have passed a very pleasant hour listening to the paper, and we have gained a great deal of useful information regarding China. I was not aware myself that when Germany seized Kiao Chow she was acting in contravention of treaty rights; but I think that in any case her high-handed action was likely to breed considerable suspicion in the minds of the Chinese regarding the probable action of other European nations.

My own knowledge of the Chinese has been principally gained from observation of the merchants of that race I have met in Burma and elsewhere. We all know that the Chinese merchants have a great reputation for honesty, and also I noticed in Burma that they have great business capacity. Many of them make very large fortunes, and it always seemed to me very extraordinary that the Chinese had not been able to acquire for themselves a better Government, seeing how very capable they are in other countries. What we have heard to-day respecting the administration of the Salt Department by Sir Richard Dane, shows what can be done by efficient administration in China. I hope the Republican Government will go still further, and employ more Europeans—I won't say Englishmen, but Englishmen for preference—in other departments of administration, thus carrying what has been a very successful experiment still further.

Of course the first essential for China is good government and strong government. I should say that the first thing for Yuan Shih Kai and

his counsellors to do is to get a well-disciplined and well-organized army, and everything else can follow. It is quite evident the resources of China are so very large that its rulers can easily, with good administration, find sufficient money to meet the expense of a more efficient government than they have at present. I am sure that I voice your feelings when I convey to Mr. Mackintosh our hearty thanks for his excellent paper, based as it is on very long and intimate acquaintance with the country.

Mr. MACKINTOSH briefly expressed his thanks, and the proceedings closed.

THE NEAR EAST AND THE WAR *

By H. CHARLES WOODS

SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, on taking the chair, expressed regret that the president, Sir Mortimer Durand, could not be with them, as he was very indisposed, and was down in Cornwall recuperating. Their energetic hon. secretary, Mr. Penton, was also absent ; but was most usefully engaged in supplying boots for the Army, and as boots were consumed, he understood, at the rate of a pair to each man every three weeks, they might take it that his hands were pretty full. The lecturer did not need any introduction to their Society, of which he was a member. For the last nine or ten years he had paid almost annual visits to the Near Eastern countries he would describe. They had all seen his articles in the newspapers, and he had written books on the Balkans. Although there were so many parts of the world claiming attention at the present time, the Near East must not be forgotten, for it was of special importance in connexion with the war.

Throughout the last decade, and more especially since the re-establishment of the Turkish Constitution in the year 1908, the political situation in the Near East must have been deeply engaging the attention of the Governments of all the Great European Powers. Indeed, that situation and the problems connected with this ever danger zone of Europe were, as we now know, the immediate cause of the present awful European conflagration. Under these circumstances, although my subject is, I fear, somewhat outside the scope of those which are usually discussed here, my object is to endeavour to interest you in some of the things which have come to my notice during my travels in the Balkan Peninsula and in Asia Minor, and to explain in a few words the part which the peoples of the various countries are playing or may play in the present great war.

As this article covers a very wide area of country, and as it is impossible to avoid a certain number of statistics, I have divided my remarks into three different sections :

1. A description of the countries of the Near East.
2. A very brief outline of the results of the two Balkan cam-

* Read February 17, 1915, Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband presiding.

paigns, showing how these results were the immediate cause of the present war.

3. A very short account of the part which has been played in the war by Serbia, Montenegro, and Turkey, and of the attitudes which may possibly be adopted by Greece, Bulgaria, and Rumania.

Let me begin with Serbia. The kingdom, which was almost doubled in size as a result of the two Balkan wars, now has an area of nearly 34,000 square miles, and a population of rather more than four and a half million souls. Belgrade, the capital, is built largely on the sides of a hill, at the apex of a triangle, two sides of which are formed by the Rivers Danube and Save. Such is the position that, upon the outbreak of war, it was absolutely necessary for our little ally to move her seat of Government to Nish, or to some other place of security in the interior of the country.

After Belgrade, Nish, the temporary capital, is the largest town in Old Serbia—that is, in the area which was Serbian before the recent Balkan wars. Made up of a combination of modern Serbian houses and of old Turkish hovels, the present metropolis is situated on both banks of the River Nishava. From a military point of view, the town lends itself to defence, for it is practically surrounded by detached hills, backed by higher mountains, so situated that it is impossible for an enemy to advance up the river valley or to hold that city until these hills have been captured.

The kingdom of Montenegro, which was also more or less doubled in size as a result of the two recent wars, now has an area of about 5,600 square miles, and a population of about 516,000 souls. Cetinje, the capital, would in any other country be little more than a village. Its population only numbers about 4,000. Although the country possesses two Houses of Assembly, the rule of King Nicholas is for all practical purposes absolute. In the past, in his own words, His Majesty has been the ruler and father of his people.

With regard to Albania, at the present moment it is very difficult to give any definite facts, for the frontiers have never been accurately defined or traced. If the country continues to exist on the basis originally intended by the so-called European Concert, then its area will be approximately 10,700 square miles, and its population should be about 800,000 souls. Owing to the breaking up of the European Commission of Control, it has now no proper Government. Order, where order exists, is therefore being maintained by the local chiefs. Durazzo is accepted by some as the capital, but Scutari is by far the most important city. On the other hand, Valona and its fine harbour, now occupied by Italy, is the town and district of which we may well hear the most during the next few months or years.

Turning to Greece, I do not propose to give any historical or geographical facts. Sufficient is it to say that as a result of the

Balkan wars the country, including the islands allotted to it by the Great Powers, has been more or less doubled in size, and that it has now an area of about 43,000 square miles. Its population is about five million souls. During the last four years, largely owing to the energy of the late King and of M. Venizelos, the army and navy have been completely reformed, and the whole governmental system of the country has been regenerated.

Bulgaria—the country which made the greatest sacrifices in, but derived the smallest benefits from, the two Balkan wars—has now an area of about 43,000 square miles, and a population of about 4,750,000 souls. Since the liberation of the Principality in 1878, the prosperity of the State has gradually increased. Whilst in the year 1887 there were no railways in Bulgaria proper, the country now possesses some 1,384 miles of line, besides nearly 240 under construction. Again, in the year 1887, soon after the fusion of the Bulgarian and East Roumelian armies, the combined strength of the two forces did not exceed 100,000 men. The capital—at the time of the Liberation little more than a collection of mud huts—is now a prosperous modern city.

Turning to Turkey, and with regard to the past, sufficient is it to say that, as a result of the Balkan wars, the European dominions of the Sultan were reduced in size from an area of over 65,000 square miles to an area of somewhat under 11,000 square miles, and from a population of over six millions to a population of under two million souls. Excluding the only nominally subject territories—Egypt and the Islands of Cyprus and Samos, and any districts now occupied by Russia—Turkey in Asia still has an area of nearly 700,000 square miles, and a population of over nineteen million souls.

Rumania, with an area of over 53,000 square miles, and a population of over seven and a half million souls, is the largest country in the Balkan Peninsula. Moreover, partly owing to its geographical position—for the most part upon the north of the Danube, and so to speak wedged in between the Austrian Empire and Russia—Rumania forms a sort of link between East and West. In addition, largely owing to the fact that practically no sacrifices were made at the time of the Balkan wars, the late King of Rumania was able during the second war to make his influence felt as a factor of paramount importance. This influence, which has been well maintained, is still of the greatest consequence, not only in the Balkan Peninsula, but in Europe as a whole.

I must now approach the second, and from my point of view the most difficult, part of my lecture—namely, that section which deals with the results of the two Balkan wars—results which I have already said were the immediate, if not the real, cause of the present European conflagration. In a word, as these wars brought about no satisfactory

settlement of many of the most important Balkan questions, and as they left the former Allies divided amongst themselves, the real source of danger, after as before the two campaigns, lay in the ever increasing rivalry between Russia and Austria-Hungary, each possessed of their Balkan protégés, or of those whom they hoped might become their protégés.

From a more local point of view, the so-called settlement of the year 1913 was so unsatisfactory that it rendered probable the more or less immediate outbreak of the present war. Serbia, although practically doubled in size, was still without that outlet to the sea for which she had really gone to war. Bulgaria, deprived of the legitimate fruits of an original and all-important victory, naturally continued to remain on the most strained terms with Serbia as a result of the terms of the Treaties of Bucharest and of Constantinople. The *Ægean Islands Question*—nominally settled by the Great Powers last spring—laid the seeds of a continuing enmity between Turkey and Greece.

Early last year it was claimed by some, and by those among whom the wish must have been father to the thought, that the formation of the then so-called New Balkan Alliance, made up of Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, and Rumania, was as favourable, if not more favourable, to the cause of the Triple Entente than would have been the continued existence of the original League, formed of Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Montenegro. Others, and amongst them the Austrians and the Germans, were not slow to realize that, however friendly to Serbia her new Allies might be, with the exception of Montenegro, these so-called Allies were not likely immediately to engage in a war in which they had no direct interest. In a word, whilst the policy of the Germanic Powers certainly suffered a great set-back by the defeat of Turkey, Count Berchtold was undoubtedly entitled to claim a temporary diplomatic success as the result of the destruction of the original Balkan League.

The events of the last few months have proved that this is only too true. Indeed, after the second Balkan War, had the rightful claims of Bulgaria been received and treated by her former Allies with greater moderation, and had it therefore been possible to arrange a federation of, or at least a friendly understanding between, the Balkan States, Austria would certainly never have dared to attack or to threaten Serbia. In a word, the dastardly murder of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his Consort at Serajevo in July last might have taken place; but even then, if the great war had had to come, it would have broken out upon some other issue.

The future alone will prove what further disastrous events will result from the fatal termination of the second Balkan War; and from the fact that, in and during the earlier stages of the present campaign, no adequate measures appear to have been taken to secure for Bulgaria

concessions which would render absolutely certain her attitude, should that attitude be tested by the infringement of her neutrality by Turkey, or should her Government be forced into a highly critical position by events which may yet take place in other parts of the Balkan Peninsula.

With regard to the actual events of the war itself, time absolutely forbids my doing more than giving the very briefest outline of the nature of the operations which have taken place in the different Near Eastern theatres of war, and indicating in a few words the various conditions and considerations which govern the policies of the Balkan countries, which up to the present time have maintained their neutrality.

Let me begin with Serbia and Montenegro. The Austrians directed their first attack upon Serbia, against Belgrade, because this appeared to be the easiest place, and also against the northern and western frontiers of Serbia—frontiers protected by the Rivers Danube, Save, and Drin. The attack across the Danube never seriously developed, and Belgrade was not then taken. The Austrians, however, having entered Serbia in the north-western corner of that country, were eventually defeated between Shabatz and Loznitza, in an engagement known as the Battle of Jadar, which took place about the middle of August. Partly as an indirect result of this Serbian victory, and partly as a consequence of the situation in Galicia, the Austrian armies were then driven back or withdrew into Bosnia and Herzegovina. Subsequently the forces of Serbia and Montenegro united in these provinces, the army of the former country occupying Vishegrad, and the forces of the two countries ultimately advancing to the immediate neighbourhood of Serajevó.

Later on, and during the first half of September, a second invasion of Serbia took place. This time the Austrians, who had by then brought up reinforcements, delivered their attack across the River Drin. The left or northern flank of this force was first defeated, the right subsequently being driven back in every district save one during very hard fighting, which occurred between September 7 and 15.

The position during the ensuing two months was practically one of stale mate, neither side seriously advancing or retiring across the Austro-Serbian frontier. But in November, and after the entry of Turkey into the war, the Austrians came on in great force and shelled the Serbians out of their trenches, compelling them to retire from their frontier and from Valievo, and to remove their headquarters from that town to Kraguivatz. They then took up positions running along a range of hills which extend in a more or less southerly direction from Belgrade.

Subsequently it became advisable for the Serbians to evacuate Belgrade, which was occupied by the enemy on December 2, and to concentrate upon a shorter line. This done, and on the arrival of the gallant old Serbian King, a counter-attack was ordered, and carried out

so successfully that the Austrian centre was pierced, and the right or southern flank was completely routed. At first the Austrian left or north flank was only successfully frustrated in its endeavours to drive home its attacks against the Serbian right. But this section of the enemy's line, which had advanced fatally and slowly, soon suffered the fate of the right, and the Austrian rout became general about December 10. Our gallant little Ally, who never loses a moment in turning a success into a complete victory, pursued the enemy; and as the distances in Serbia are comparatively short, she regained possession of Belgrade after a desperate battle on December 14.

Montenegro in the meantime has engaged the forces of Austria along and more or less near the common frontiers of those countries. She has also bombarded, from the Lovchen Mountain, the forts of the famous Austrian stronghold and naval base at Cattaro.

The great importance of the whole of these operations is that the Serbians and Montenegrins, who during the last two years have fought two wars, have gallantly contained and occupied a very considerable Austrian force, which would otherwise have been utilized against Russia, or perhaps even against France. Serbia having lost at least 50,000 men, and Montenegro having lost about 10,500 men, in casualties during the previous wars, have now respectively put into the field approximately 300,000 and, say, 25,000 men. For this, and for the gallant way in which they have fought for and defended the interests of the Triple Entente, these countries and their peoples deserve the gratitude, and they have the gratitude, of England, of France, and of Russia.

Passing over Albania—a State which has played, and which cannot well play, any serious diplomatic or active part in the war—we come to Greece. The interests of this country have been, and particularly now are, on the side of the Allies. Whether Greece maintains her neutrality or throws in her lot against Turkey, at the same time, mobilizing a field army of, say, 250,000 men will largely depend upon the general trend of events in the Near Eastern theatres of war, and especially upon the policies which are ultimately adopted by Rumania and by Bulgaria.

Turning to Bulgaria—a country the attitude and possible rôle of which is of all preponderating importance—the position is extremely critical. The key of the whole situation lies in the fact that the Government cannot actually join or throw in its lot with any side or countries which do not at least promise compensation for the shameful way in which Bulgaria was treated before and at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Bucharest in July, 1913. Moreover, so long as her future is not adequately secured and safeguarded, Bulgaria cannot afford to take up arms against Turkey, because her only accesses to the sea are by way of her Black Sea ports—now rendered

useless. owing to the closing of the Dardanelles—and to the Ægean through Dédeagatch, the railway to which port runs for some miles through Ottoman territory, between Adrianople and the sea.

Judging from all the news which has come to hand, and from my personal knowledge of the sentiments of the people, I do not think that the Bulgarians are desirous of throwing in their lot against Russia and England. The great question now is whether Serbia, Greece, and Rumania, and especially the first two countries, will prove themselves willing to restore to Bulgaria areas of Macedonia which by right of the nationality of the people which inhabit them, and by the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty concluded before the first Balkan War, should be hers, and whether the Allies will promise to her districts of now Ottoman territory which they actually agreed should be allotted to her during the negotiations of 1913. If so, then Bulgaria may put into the field some 300,000 men or more upon the side of the Triple Entente and of Serbia. If not, she will naturally either maintain her neutrality to the end, or use these forces against her local or other enemies in any way which may seem advisable to her when the time arrives.

With regard to Rumania, the interests of that country are what might be called semi-Balkan and semi-international. As far as the first of these is concerned, the most important is that nothing should take place in the Balkans which would in any way threaten the general interests of Rumania, or so strengthen the position of her Balkan neighbours as to affect those interests. In a word, this is the real reason why, at the time of the first Balkan War, Rumania claimed and obtained territorial compensation from Bulgaria; and it is also the cause which made her intervene on the side of Serbia and of Greece against Bulgaria at the time of the second Balkan campaign.

At the present moment, seeing that Serbia and probably Greece will undoubtedly be increased in size as the result of the present war, Rumania is coming to recognize, or has already recognized, that the Treaty of Bucharest has become a dead letter, and that Bulgaria should and must receive compensation either for the maintenance of her neutrality, or for joining in the war on the side of the Triple Entente. This means that Rumania is using, and will use, her influence to endeavour to get Serbia and Greece to satisfy Bulgaria, in order that she (Rumania) may be certain of a free hand to operate elsewhere when the proper moment arrives. As far as it is possible to judge, too, Rumania seems inclined to prove the *bona fides* of her attitude by handing back, under certain circumstances, at least part of the territory to the south of the Dobrudja which she acquired from Bulgaria during and as a result of the Balkan Wars.

From an international point of view, the foreign policy of Rumania is bound up with the fact that there are domiciled near, but outside

her frontiers and in Austria-Hungary, nearly four million Rumanians, and that about 800,000 people belonging to the same race have their homes in Bessarabia, part of which district was annexed by Russia after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878. As far as the present moment is concerned, therefore, the real key to the whole situation lies in the fact that since the outbreak of the present war the policy of Rumania has naturally been directed in order that, by some means or other, she may ultimately secure possession of one or other of these districts.

For many years there is no doubt that Rumania, and especially her late King, have been pro-Austrian. Indeed, there is every reason to suppose that some thirty years ago the country joined Germany in a defensive alliance. This alliance, the terms of which have never been published, is believed to have bound Rumania to come to the assistance of Germany and Austria should those Powers be attacked by Russia. But as Germany and Austria were the aggressors in this war, there exists no obligation to compel Rumania to join in against Russia, or even to maintain her neutrality should she consider it to be in her interests to side with the Allies. In short, her position is exactly the same as that of Italy in regard to the former Triple Alliance, and if she takes part in this war at all, it is most likely that she will do so for and not against Great Britain and her Allies.

If we except this as the true basis of the present situation, the only outstanding question is whether Rumania will maintain her neutrality, and if not, how and when she will join in the war on the side of Russia, France, and England. Whilst she herself is the best judge as to her own policy, the reasons for haste would seem to be that Rumania must move before Russia has completely overrun Transylvania or any other part of Hungary. To do otherwise would perhaps make her entry into the war so late as to result in her action not really being welcomed by Russia, and consequently in Rumania not receiving those rewards to which she considers herself entitled.

The great importance of any action on the part of Rumania would be that were her army to cross the Hungarian frontier, it would, so to speak, form a uniting link between those of Russia and Serbia, and thus secure what may be called their inner flanks from an attack on the part of the Austro-German forces. The Rumanian Army is, too, not only powerful, but it is fresh. Moreover, as the country is situated in immediate proximity to those which have been at war during the last three years, there is no doubt that much has been done to improve and to perfect the training of its military forces. At the present moment, were she to enter the theatre of hostilities, Rumania could place in the field a force of at least 400,000 men. Her army, in which, of course, service is compulsory, is well organized, well clothed, and well equipped.

We now come to Turkey. From the moment of the outbreak of the war, it ought to have been obvious to everyone who had studied the recent trend of events in the Ottoman dominions that Turkey would seize the first opportunity of throwing in her lot with Germany. The reason of this was not that the people really disliked England and France, but that a certain section was undoubtedly anxious to use the occasion to attack Russia, and that at the beginning of the war the Turks seemed to think that to side with Germany would enable them to inflict some damage upon Greece, from whom they were anxious to regain the *Ægean* Islands of Chios, Mitylene, and Lemnos.

Thus, throughout the first three months of the war it was markedly apparent that the Germans would spare no pains to drag Turkey into hostilities. The legitimate confiscation by England of the two Turkish Dreadnoughts was skilfully utilized to inflame public opinion against us. The Capitulations, which governed the special position of Europeans domiciled in Turkey, were abolished. The British instructors in the Turkish Navy were summarily dismissed. Ottoman intrigue became rife from end to end of Albania, and Turkey was persuaded to mobilize—a measure which she was not in a financial position to undertake, and a measure which could only have been directed against the Allies.

But the all-important feature and the real turning-point in the whole situation was the arrival at Constantinople of the *Goeben* and of the *Breslau*. The so-called purchase of these vessels placed the Turks in a position which naturally justified them in thinking that they were a match for any naval force which they were likely to meet in the Black Sea. From then, and until the outbreak of war, the entire attention of the German Representative at Constantinople, and of the Turkish Government, was directed towards the rapid conveyance of German men and war material to the shores of the Bosphorus. As a matter of fact, shortly after Turkey entered the war arena, there were at least 12,000 Germans and Austrians in the Ottoman Dominions. This vast army of supporters and instructors was collected largely owing to the fact that men who should have returned to their own countries for military service, either remained in or went to Constantinople, it being understood that their presence there would ultimately be more valuable to the common cause than would have been their return home.

Space is too short to enable me to describe the details of the manner in which Germany actually rushed Turkey into war. Sufficient is it, therefore, to say that the Germans finally endeavoured to telegraph instructions to the Turkish Staff at Erzeroum without consulting all, or even most, of the members of the Ottoman Government, and that the outbreak of hostilities was postponed owing to the fact that the telegram was intercepted by a vigilant post-office clerk. Later the

Germans did succeed, personally I believe, without the knowledge of any member of the Cabinet except that of Enver Pasha, in launching a naval attack upon Odessa, and upon other of the Russian Black Sea ports—an attack which was the immediate cause of war.

Turning to the nature of the war itself, sufficient is it to say, partly owing to the fact that the Turkish and Greek frontiers are no longer contiguous, and partly because the Ottoman fleet cannot leave the Dardanelles, that it is practically impossible under present circumstances for Turkey in any way even to threaten the position of Greece. Consequently, so long as the present conditions prevail, her military operations, for which she mobilized an army of about 800,000 men, must of necessity be confined to four areas. The first of these is in European Turkey, and the remaining three are in or on the borders of the Asiatic Dominions of the Sultan. They are—

1. The district surrounding Constantinople, and in fact all European Turkey. Here, according to my information, the Turks have kept an army of about 310,000 men, in order to safeguard themselves from a possible attack upon Adrianople by Bulgaria, to try to protect themselves against the danger of a Russian landing on the Black Sea coast, and to endeavour to defend the forts on the European side of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. In addition, and more or less forming part of the army destined to protect the capital, there are at least 60,000 men in and around the Asiatic forts of the Bosphorus, and about the same number on the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles. If these figures be approximately correct, this accounts for about 430,000 men.

2. The areas lying within and near the north-eastern frontiers of Asia Minor, in other words the districts of which have recently been the scenes of hard fighting on the borders of the Caucasus, and to a lesser extent of engagements in Persia.

As far as we know, at the beginning of the campaign, the Russians advanced into Turkey by three more or less distinct routes—namely, those which led upon Erzeroum, that running past Mount Ararat and through Bayazeid, and that leading across the Persian frontier and towards the lake and town of Van. On or about November 20 the Russians secured possession of Kupru-Keui, situated as it is about halfway between the Turkish frontier and Erzeroum. Immediately after that, acting on the usual German rule of taking the offensive at the first possible moment, the Turks began to advance from the direction of Erzeroum, and continued to do so until the Ottoman forces were defeated during the early part of January, near the borders of, but within, Russian territory. Whilst details are still lacking, we must presume, too, that the Russian columns, which had previously advanced by way of Bayazeid and out of Persia, began to retire about the same time, that is, in the latter half of the month of November.

During the last part of November, and throughout December, three Turkish corps—the 9th, 10th, and the 11th—advanced from Erzeroum in such a way that the 11th moved by the main road from Erzeroum to Sarakamish, whilst the 10th moved in a more northerly direction by way of Id. The 9th corps filled the gap and formed the connecting-link between the other two. Another and more or less independent force, which appears to have advanced from the direction of the Black Sea, and which consisted at least in part of regiments belonging to the first or Constantinople corps, moved in a south-easterly direction upon Ardahan. The idea seems to have been that the 11th corps should engage and hold the Russians in front and near Khorassan, whilst the 9th and 10th corps swept round by Id and Olti, in order to take the army of our Ally in flank at or near Sarakamish.

In a word, what actually happened was this: The Turkish force coming from the North did take Ardahan, but after an occupation lasting only a few days, it was driven out by the Russians on January 3. At the time of the final stages of this Turkish advance—that is, about Christmas—the 11th corps was firmly holding the Russians at Khorassan, whilst the 9th and 10th were pushing forward by a flank march. For days there was a terrible struggle in and around Sarakamish, but finally the action began to turn in favour of the Russians. First the 10th, or left-hand corps, was driven back, and then the 9th, which thus became practically isolated, was either entirely cut to pieces or completely captured. These events took place during the opening days of this year.

The 11th corps, which had been reinforced from Erzeroum, then vigorously took the offensive in order to lessen the difficulties and dangers of the retreat of the 10th corps, which was then being pursued by the Russians. This Turkish offensive, which appears to have been conducted with the utmost dash and bravery, seems to have necessitated a retirement and regrouping of the Russian armies. Nevertheless, according to the confident language of a long communiqué recently issued in Petrograd, the Russians, in spite of violent snowstorms, report that between January 8 and 16 they pursued and defeated the Turks in the neighbourhood of Kara Urgan, and thus completed this part of the campaign in the Caucasus.

The whole question of the importance and magnitude of the Turkish defeat is bound up with the strength of the forces which were really engaged on the respective sides, with the number of reinforcements available, and with the nature of the lines of communication by which these reinforcements can be brought up into the battle area. According to Petrograd communiqués, the Turks were numerically superior to the Russians. This is probably true, for personally I believe that the Turks despatched approximately 200,000 men to Eastern Asia Minor during the

weeks which immediately preceded and followed the outbreak of the war. If this be correct, it means that 200,000 men were available for the campaign against Russia, in addition to those quartered and mobilized locally during the period of war preparations. But with the exception of a section of the 1st Army Corps, which took part in the capture of Ardahan, the 9th, 10th, and 11th corps are the only ones which we know to have taken part in the recent fighting. As these corps always have their headquarters at Erzeroum, Erzincan, and Van, it therefore appears to me extremely likely that, so far, the great and best proportion of the Turkish troops may not really have been actively engaged with the Russians at all.

The power of resistance of the Turks now largely depends upon the fact that as by the Black Sea their lines of communication are extremely insecure, and by land extremely bad, it is difficult to see how they can feed and supply their army located in this district. When the proper moment arrives, and when the strain of the Polish campaign has become somewhat less acute, the Russians can always bring up reinforcements, which should be sufficient not only to hold but to push back the Turks in a district in which the population is for the most part far from favourable to the continuation of the rule of its present Ottoman masters.

With regard to the Turkish advance upon Tabriz and into North-Western Persia, I propose only to make a few brief remarks to-day. To do otherwise would not only involve a lengthy historical discussion, but it would also raise questions to which, as Persia has proclaimed her neutrality, it were better that no public reference were made. All that we really know is that the Russian Consul and all the Russians having withdrawn, the Turks entered Tabriz about the middle of January, and that as a result of the Battle of Sofian, at the end of last month, the enemy retired from, and the Russians re-entered, the city on January 30.

So far as I am aware, no details have ever been published as to the route followed by or the composition of the force which occupied the capital of the Azerbaijan Province of Persia, for about as short a time as did the Austrians, who held Belgrade for less than a fortnight. Judging, however, from what we do know, it appears to me probable that the Ottoman forces were for the most part composed of Kurdish irregulars, that the operations which they undertook were practically independent of those based upon Erzeroum, and that they moved into Persia from the direction of Mosul, and by a route or routes the final stages of which are situated to the east of Lake Urmi.

3. The area near the head of the Persian Gulf, concerning the position and operations in which we have heard uncommonly little since it was first announced that a military force from India had taken Fao, at the head of the Persian Gulf, on November 8. Basra

was occupied on November 21 by British naval and military contingents. Kurna was captured on December 5, thus giving us complete control of the country lying between the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates and the sea. Judging from a statement issued by the Press Bureau on January 27, it would seem that operations are still in progress in this neighbourhood, and that severe loss had then recently been inflicted on the enemy.

But the operations at the head of the Persian Gulf may well have a significance much greater than is at first apparent. They mean, that on the outbreak of the war with Turkey, this country was ready to convoy an expeditionary force from India for nearly 1,500 miles through the Persian Gulf. They mean, too, that the Arabs must realize that the Turks are impotent protectors, quite unworthy of the allegiance of a race who have nothing to gain by favouring the continuation of even their nominal control from Constantinople.

4. The area of desert territory which lies immediately to the east of the Suez Canal. Here we are presented with an example of what is practically a new feature of warfare—namely, how far it is possible for a force of considerable size—the army intended for an attack upon Egypt probably numbers at least 100,000 men—to overcome the obstacle created by the necessity of a land march across a practically waterless desert, which has an average width of about 140 miles. The only elements in favour of the Ottoman plan of campaign are that, comparatively speaking, the lines of communication between Constantinople and the Ottoman base in Southern Palestine are good, and that the Turkish Army requires far less transport than would a modern fighting machine.

As a matter of fact, the Sultan can now convoy his troops by railway almost all the way from Constantinople to the borders of Egyptian territory. A good and well-constructed line, known as the Anatolian Railway Company, runs from the shores of the Bosphorus to Konia in Asia Minor. Thence this line has been prolonged by the Baghdad Railway across the Taurus to Alexandretta, and to a point where connection has been, or is, on the point of being established with the railways of Syria, which run northwards from Damascus. There may be a gap in the line in the Taurus Mountains, but if there is, it only amounts to a distance of at most twenty miles—a distance which will no doubt be bridged at least by a temporary line in the not far distant future, and a distance which can in any case be accomplished in one day's march.

From Damascus a line known as the Hedjaz Railway has been built in a southerly direction to Medina. This line, constructed under the auspices of Abdul Hamid, actually runs more or less parallel to the Turco-Egyptian frontier. At one or more points it is distant from that frontier less than fifty miles. Moreover, judging from published state-

ments, it would seem that the Germans are leaving no stone unturned to construct a new line towards or across the frontier which will facilitate the provisioning of the Turkish Army in the desert. To make the position stronger, if the Baghdad Railway has been properly completed to the east of Adana, and if the connection is not merely maintained by way of the branch to Alexandretta, the railway, thanks to the efforts of the Germans, is nowhere along its course situated within really easy reach of the coast.

Although there is no doubt, as recent events have proved, that the enemy can bring up considerable forces to the immediate neighbourhood of the east bank of the Canal, I do not personally think that any large contingent will cross it except as prisoners. The Germans do not care how many of their protégés die from starvation and thirst or perish by the sword. Consequently, in view of all the circumstances and of the fact that the principal object of the enemy is to immobilize as large a British force as possible, it is practically certain, for the present at least, that the canal district will be threatened and re-threatened purely in order to force this country to provide and keep up an adequate garrison for its defence. The Ottoman Army, said to be commanded by Ahmed Djemal Pasha, will not therefore take Egypt, but it will endeavour to overcome an obstacle destined to defeat a far greater fighting machine than that which has been hoaxed into war by the notorious Enver Pasha.

To summarize and to recapitulate my foregoing remarks, I would say that now, as always, it is impossible to attempt to forecast the future trend of events in and connected with Turkey. Sufficient, therefore, be it to add that, in view of the fact that I have every reason to believe that there are now some 12,000 armed Germans and Austrians in Constantinople itself, it is difficult to see how the War Party can be removed from power merely by the overthrow of Enver Pasha and of his immediate followers. The Turks, as a result of a far-reaching defeat in North-Eastern Asia Minor or upon the borders of the Suez Canal, or as a consequence of the threatened arrival of the armies or the fleets of the allies at Constantinople, may revolt against their Germanic masters and sue for an unconditional peace. In the former case, the Sultan may possibly continue to enjoy some prestige in the world's field of politics. In the latter, the greatness, if not the independent existence, of the Ottoman Empire will be a thing of the past.

To-day we must, and do, recognize the Kings of Serbia and Montenegro to be the rulers of countries which have bravely and consistently shown themselves worthy to be classed as Allies by England, France, and Russia. At the termination of hostilities they will and must secure those territorial advantages for which they have fought so well and so hard. The Kings of Rumania and of Greece,

whilst still ruling over neutral peoples, are most unlikely to join hands with our enemies; and if they enter the arena of hostilities at all—I think Rumania is bound to do so—they will almost inevitably take the field on the side of the now Allied Triple Entente Powers. The Tsar of Bulgaria, whose future policy may be the least decided, will be able to play the part of a valuable Ally or of a friendly neutral to whichever side he may ultimately bestow his sympathy.

The Near Eastern question has haunted us for many a year. Two of the most wonderful, and to some the most unsatisfactory, campaigns in history have not long ago been fought. Continued unity amongst the Balkan Allies would then have meant strength to each and all of them. Again, to-day a bold policy of concession by Rumania, Serbia, and Greece to Bulgaria would be worth to them and to the Allies far more than is realized by any except those who are closely following the trend of events in this ever and still great danger zone.

The CHAIRMAN said that in the first place they would like to express their very great admiration for the wonderful work which had been done in the war by their little Ally, Serbia. When they bore in mind that it had been engaged in two wars in the last three years, and that its population was little more than half the population of London, they must recognize that it had contributed remarkably to the prosecution of the work before ourselves and our Allies.

In the only journey he had paid to the regions the lecturer had described, there were one or two things which struck him, and which must strike every traveller in those parts very forcibly. In the first place he saw that the withdrawal of the oppressive Turkish yoke brought new life to those countries, comparable to the coming of flowers in the spring. Wherever Turkish dominion went, a blight seemed to hang over the country, and as it was pressed back towards its original home in Asia, the countries it evacuated sprung once more into life. It would be remembered that the Turkish forces extended so far as twice to reach the gates of Vienna, and that for many years the Turkish Government was in possession of Hungary. Step by step they had been driven back, first from Hungary, then from Serbia, then from Bulgaria, and now they occupied only a very small portion of Europe; and the lands delivered from their thralldom were showing signs of vigorous life, ready to take their place among the society of nations.

The second point that struck the visitor to the Balkans was the greatness of the struggle which had inevitably to come between the two great racial divisions, Slav and Teuton. As the Turks were pressed back, they saw the Germans and the Austrians and Hungarians pressing forward to take their place—pressing on eastwards. At the same time they saw the tremendous forces of the Slavs pressing down

from the north. Both elements were pressing down towards the sea. He must say that what seemed the natural thing—far more natural than the progress of Teutonic forces eastwards—was the progress of the Slavs southwards. They had in these opposing forces the real cause of the present great European conflict.

The aspect of the questions dealt with by Mr. Woods, likely to be more immediate than the others, was the position of Rumania. At the present time the Russians were unfortunately being pressed before vastly increased forces of Austrians and Germans in the provinces on the extreme east of the Austrian Empire contiguous to Rumania. Within the next few weeks it would become a point of very great importance whether Rumania came into the war with the Allies, or whether she remained neutral. He understood that for some time she had been fully prepared for war, for she had been collecting vast amounts of stores and ammunition which she could now obtain from neutral countries, but which she might not be able to obtain so readily if she declared war too soon. There was a risk that the Austrian forces might forestall her and attack her first. That was one of the things we should have to watch in the immediate future.

He was glad to see with them Sir Edwin Pears, whose name they all knew, and who, after thirty years in Constantinople, was probably better acquainted with the Near East than almost anyone else in this country. (Cheers.)

SIR EDWIN PEARS said he had known Mr. Woods for many years, and, speaking with some knowledge of the Near East, he did not believe that it would be possible for anyone within the time which had been at his disposal for the lecture to give a better summary of the position than he had provided that afternoon. (Cheers.) It must not be supposed that he was prepared to endorse every opinion the lecturer had advanced; for instance, he could not fully share his confidence in the action of Rumania. Rumania was a great country, and it might be that she was sitting on the fence at the present time for good sound reasons; but for outside observers directly interested in finding out which side she was coming down upon, the problem was a little difficult. What he did agree with heart and soul was that the key to the position in the Near East was the attitude of Bulgaria. If there was one thing more unfortunate than another in the two Balkan Wars, it was the mistake made by Serbia and Greece and Bulgaria in quarrelling over the results of the first war. The pity of it was inexpressible. It was that more than anything else which had weakened the hands of the Bulgarian people, and he agreed with Mr. Woods that it led indirectly to the present great European conflict. It was the duty of all interested in this question to do what was possible to effect reconciliation between those countries. He believed such reconciliation could be accomplished, and he had full

confidence in the statesmen at the head of affairs in this country, in France, and in Russia. It seemed to him impossible that they should not be doing their utmost on the lines which Mr. Woods indicated, rather than suggested. By secret treaties and blunders the spirit of the original treaty of the Balkan Confederation was violated, and Serbia and Greece entered into an arrangement behind Bulgaria's back which led inevitably to the second war. He did not say Bulgaria was not to blame. As an old lawyer he might confess that he rarely had a case in which one party was absolutely right and the other entirely wrong. Let them speak academically, and assume that Bulgaria was wrong; but do not let them forget that Bulgaria did more than any of the other States in the first war, and as a reward secured the smallest amount of territory. But whether she had received more territory or less territory than the others did not concern the immediate question he had in view—that was, the problem of uniting the Balkan States together for common action. He ventured to hope that the statesmanship of the three countries—England, France, and Russia—would apply itself to the problem, and make a proposition to Serbia on these lines: "You must give up those southern portions of Macedonia to Bulgaria, and if you do so we Powers will back you in your efforts to get down to the *Ægean* Sea. We recognize that you will not be content with a mere strip of territory just enough for your railway-line, and that you must have a substantial territory as far as the *Ægean*, in return for handing over to Bulgaria those portions to which she is entitled."

It might be said that a further difficulty arose from the outstanding questions between Bulgaria and Rumania; but he believed that they were practically settled at the present time, and once the difficulties with Serbia were removed, they might anticipate that Bulgaria would throw in her lot with her neighbours, and that the Balkans would contribute a united quota to the great cause of the Entente Powers.

Colonel Sir HENRY TROTTER thanked the lecturer for the very clear and lucid way in which he had put the numerous complications of the Balkan situation. Like Mr. Woods, he had strong hopes for the future of Rumania, based on personal experience from having lived there for a great many years. He hoped that the Rumanians would come, sooner or later, to the assistance of the Allies, but they naturally did not want to incur the expense and difficulties of a winter campaign in that severe climate, which corresponds to that of Southern Russia. He dared say that in the detailed lecture from which extracts had been read, Mr. Woods would show in print the great reason why Rumania should come forward—viz., that there were 3,000,000 Rumanians in Transylvania and in the Bassat, and one of the great dreams of Rumania was to bring them into the kingdom to which they belonged by race and sentiment.

THE NEAR EAST AND THE WAR

ROCHIRALD LITTLE joined in the expression of thanks for a speech which she described as admirably clear and outspoken. She asked whether there was anyone in the room more deeply interested in the Balkan question than she was. Her sister was working in Constantinople as Sister Augusta, and since the outbreak of the war she found it almost impossible for letters to get through to her. The delay of the arrival of which she had heard took three months to be conveyed by private hands. She thought that Mr. Woods's speech would hearten those of them who were anxious about the Balkan situation.

She believed that if the Balkan States were to unitedly fall with the Allies, this would shorten the present terrible war by months at least, and thus lead to the saving of a vast number of lives.

By a vote of thanks tendered by the Chairman, Mr. Woods said that the discussion raised points with which he was unable to deal, largely owing to the impossibility of bringing before the committee all the complicated questions arising from a survey of the Balkan situation. He thanked Sir Edwin Pears for bringing forward his ideas as to the means by which a settlement between Turkey and Bulgaria might be reached. He was also grateful to Sir Henry Trotter for emphasizing a point made in his paper, though he had had time to read it—namely, the large number of Rumanians in Transylvania. But for Sir Henry Trotter's speech many of them would have gone away thinking he had ignored this enormously important side of the question of the Rumanian attitude.*

This paper was written considerably earlier than, and read before, the news of the bombardment of the Dardanelles on Friday, February 19, 1915. It is probable that Mr. Woods could make no direct reference to the probability of a successful attack. That he foresaw that something of the kind was possible is, however, apparent from his summary of the situation in Turkey, printed on p. 84.

AN OVERLAND JOURNEY FROM INDIA TO ENGLAND

THE following is a brief account of a journey from India to England across Central Asia during the past year (1914). The time at my disposal was very limited, and the routes followed are well known. It is not to be expected, therefore, that these notes should contain anything new or very interesting.

I left a small town on the southern edge of the plains of India on the night of May 2, and reached Rawalpindi after two days in the train. Two and a half days' journey in a tonga took me to Baramulla, where the Jhelum flows out of the Vale of Kashmir. Here a houseboat awaited me, and in it I pushed on to Sopor, on the Wular Lake, where I joined Mr. W. B. Cotton, I.C.S., with whom I was to travel as far as the Chinese frontier. On the following day (May 8) we crossed the Wular Lake to Bandipur. May 9 was spent in final preparations, and we started early on May 10. It will perhaps be as well before going further to give some idea of the size and composition of our two parties. With me, besides twenty baggage coolies, were two servants, Amirullah and Hasan Batt. The former had been my Khansama for five years, and had previously accompanied me to the northern boundary of Sikkim. He was an elderly man, but volunteered for the present journey. Hasan Batt was a Kashmiri Shikari, taken by me as general outdoor servant. Kashmiris are generally abused, but he proved to be a thoroughly good and reliable servant. Cotton had seventy-eight baggage coolies, two servants, and a Shikari. Our combined parties were, therefore, over a hundred strong.

The journey from Bandipur to the Mintaka Pass via Gilgit needs little description. Our chief difficulties were in the matter of getting transport for so large a party. We had no trouble at the Tragbal Pass on May 11, but found the passage of the Burzil on May 16 a stiffer task.

The winter snow had not melted, and, in addition, it snowed for most of the previous day, and was still snowing at 2 a.m. on the morning of the 16th, when we had arranged to start. It was not until 4 a.m. that the coolies could be got to move. We reached the summit of the pass at 10 a.m., with the snow still falling so heavily that it was not possible to see more than 100 yards in any direction, and it was evening when we arrived at the Chillum Chauki rest-house. Next morning another sportsman, who crossed with us, and several coolies suffered from snow blindness.

We reached Gilgit on May 23, and spent two pleasant days there with the political officer. He has in his compound a thriving trout hatchery, from it is hoped to stock the rivers of those parts.

Four days' marching from Gilgit took us to Aliabad, where we were entertained by the assistant political officer. Seven more marches brought us to Murkushi, and the night of June 4 found us encamped where the nullahs leading to the Kilik and Mintaka Passes divide. Some of these marches are very trying for laden coolies, especially those from Passu to Khaibar, where the Bator

glacier has to be crossed, and from Khodabad to Misgar, where the parris are very steep.

At Murkushi we had to wait for a day, as the yaks from the Taghdumbash Pamir which were to meet us had not arrived. I spent the morning in going out after ibex, but saw only a herd of females near the camp. The number of ibex shot by the inhabitants of Hunza must be considerable, as they all wear ibex skin boots. The yaks arrived on the evening of the 5th. The Yakmen were Tajiks, and we examined them with interest, as they were a type new to us. On the 6th we did a short march up the Mintaka nullah and camped under the glacier.

Next day we crossed the pass, and pushed on in a snowstorm to Mintaka, where we were met by the most of the inhabitants, and entertained with tea and cakes in the khirga of the headman, Rahim Beg. We were here presented with a sheep by the servant of the Russian officer stationed at Tashkurgan, and sent a present in return. Refusing all offers of accommodation in Khirgas, we passed the night in our tents, and early next morning went on to Paik. We here met another sportsman who had been shooting in the Kukturuk nullah to the west. As soon as my loads arrived, I had them put on to fresh yaks, and sent them on towards the junction of the Taghdumbash and Masar rivers. I then parted from Cotton, who intended to shoot the Paik and Kukturuk nullahs, and afterwards to return to India via Khotan and Polu, trying for yak and ovis Hodgsoni on the way.

That evening I camped at Saik Taka, near the junction of the two rivers. The gently sloping pamir here widens out, and the view was a striking one. To the west and south were grassy valleys, with snowy peaks rising above them. To the east were the tangled mountains guarding the Yarkand River, that evening dark with storms. To the north the valley dropped down to Tashkurgan, with the dimly seen masses of Mustagh Ata beyond.

Next morning I marched twenty miles up the Masar River to Oprang, where the Khunjerab and Oprang nullahs meet. I had now with me one pony, two riding yaks, and five baggage yaks. These animals are supposed to carry 240 pounds each, but they go much better with 200 pounds. I was accompanied also by Diwana Shah, a Beg from Tashkurgan, who had been ordered by the Chinese authorities to assist me. At Oprang I was entertained with cream and bread in one of the khirgas. Here I dismissed the yaks and ponies, as I intended to spend some days in trying for ovis poli, and engaged two local shikaris, Nabi and Abdul Ali. The next seven days were gloriously fine, and I spent them in shooting the Khunjerab, Oprang, and Kara Su nullahs. The number of poli in these nullahs is very considerable, but the heads are for the most part very small. Of the three I got, the largest measured 48 inches. I saw two or three which were probably over 50 inches, but was unable to secure one. None of the five sportsmen, who had been on the Pamirs in this year up to the time of my departure, got anything bigger than 48 inches. The only other large animals I saw in these nullahs were two brown wolves. The scenery on all sides was very grand, and one view from the summit of the ridge between the Oprang and Kara Su streams was particularly striking. To the east were dark precipices, too steep to retain the snow, and to the west a wild confusion of snowy ranges. Far away to the south-east, across the Oprang Pass, was a great mountain, which must have been K. 2 or one of his near neighbours. During these seven days I was entertained in several encamp-

ments of the nomads, and received many presents of sheep, meat, cream, and bread. It was not an easy matter to find exchange gifts for everybody, and in the end I gave away some of my stores, and lived for the time on the local produce. The cream is very good, when clean, and the same remark applies to the bread. I had several visitors, among them Haji Syed Baba Shah of Tashkurgan. He is one of the leaders of the Mulai sect of Mohammedans, of whom the Aga Khan is the head, and takes the title of Hajji not by reason of a pilgrimage to Mecca, but because he has visited the Aga Khan at Bombay.

On June 14 I left Oprang, and reached Tashkurgan in three marches, putting up my tent in the compound of the Aksakal's house. The Amban, who was absent, sent me gifts of a sheep, rice, meal, and firewood, and in return I sent him a suitable present. I then called on the Russian officer, who is stationed here, with fifteen soldiers, and received calls from the Amban's munshi and a Chinese military officer. I wished to go on to Kashgar by way of the little Kara Kul and Gez, but heard that the road was closed through the rising of the rivers. It was necessary to go by Tarbashi and the Keng Kol River. On the morning of June 20 we left Tashkurgan, and did a difficult march of twenty-one miles, crossing the spur running south from Mustagh Ata by the Checheklik Pass, and camping below it. The baggage was now again on ponies, and two of them became exhausted during the ascent to the pass, and had to be unloaded. Next day we went on ten miles to Tarbashi and could go no farther, as we found no yaks ready, and the water in the river was rising fast. These valleys are full of flowers—dandelion, celandine, daisies, wild roses, white gorse, and many others, blue, pink, yellow, and white. Next morning we were away by 4.15 a.m., in order to anticipate the rising waters. The valley soon narrowed to a gorge, and the stream ran swiftly down among big boulders. In three miles we had to ford it not less than twenty-five times, and in places to march straight down it, the water being up to the yaks' shoulders. At Turbillig we changed yaks, and after marching till 7 p.m., and crossing two passes, approximately 12,000 and 10,000 feet high, we reached Tolkara on the upper waters of the Keng Kol River. The Kighirz Beg, who was named Mohammad, had everything ready for us. He was a tall, fine-looking man, and a magnificent bareback horseman. Next morning the baggage was put on two ponies, and we marched thirty miles down the Keng Kol River. At first the pasture was excellent, but farther down the valley became a bare and stony cleft. On the 24th, at midday, we reached Kach Karaul, where the valley widens out towards the desert, and permanent cultivation begins. The baggage was here put on to two camels and a donkey. These were again exchanged for ponies at Agysyar, out in the plain. I wished to camp as near to Yangi Hissar as possible that night, and it was 6.30 p.m. when the last ponies left Agysyar. Hasan Batt and I pushed on as fast as possible to overtake the leading ponies, but it became dark and we lost the road. We had nothing to guide us as the haze of the desert hid the stars, and it was not till 10.30 p.m. that we reached a village. The only people we had seen had fled when I struck a light in order to reassure them. After some trouble we knocked up an Uzbek householder, who, when he saw how matters stood, at once took us into his house, where his family of five was sleeping in a row on the veranda. His wife, not in the least put about, arose and got some bread and made tea. Having made a meal, I was brushing the crumbs away before lying down on the veranda, when Hasan Batt hastily stopped me, saying that the householder

would not like this. In the morning the latter carefully gathered up the crumbs which had fallen, and put them away. He was a very good fellow, but he held yet another superstition, as, on being asked his name, he would not tell it. It was not until the moment of parting that he whispered to Hasan Batt that it was Mohammad.

We reached Yangi Hissar early next morning, and found the rest of the party there. Hira Nand, the Indian Aksakal, a most courteous old man, entertained me at his house, and several Hindustani traders came to see me there. I exchanged calls with the Amban, who lived in a quaint dwelling. It was bazaar day in Yangi Hissar, and in the streets was a many-coloured throng. At 2 p.m. we left, and reached Yapohand at 10 p.m. For two miles the road was three feet deep in water running like a mill-stream, and the countryside was flooded. I put up in the Yapohand *serai*, which was far from clean and rather crowded. Next day we reached Kashgar at 5 p.m., after delays due to rivers being in flood. The Aksakal and a number of Indian traders met me outside the town, and conducted me to the house of the British Consul-General. Sir George and Lady Macartney had the kindness to put me up during my stay at Kashgar, and I spent three very pleasant days there. Much of the time was spent in making calls on, and receiving calls from, the Chinese officials and the Russian Consul-General, and I was also invited to dinner by the Taotai. The Russian Consul-General, Prince D. Mestchersky, very courteously helped me in regard to certain difficulties about my passport. The halt enabled Hasan Batt to wrap the ovis poli horns in felt, and pack them and the skins securely.

On the morning of June 3 I left Kashgar, having engaged ponies to go all the way to Osh. I parted here from Hasan Batt, who was to meet Cotton at Yarkand and accompany him back to Kashmir. I was sorry to part with him, as he was a most cheery and resourceful servant. In his place I engaged Maiyum, a Kanjuti, living in Kashgar.

Five days' marching, at first over a stony plain and then through low and barren sandstone hills, brought us to the Russian frontier post at Irkeshtam. On the way we met and overtook many caravans of camels, ponies, and donkeys. Those going east carried for the most part oil, cloth, and hardware, while wool was the chief article going west. At Irkeshtam a lieutenant of Cossacks was in charge of the customs house, and he had received orders from the Russian Government to pass my baggage. He gave a dinner-party that night, at which two other officers and one of their wives were present. We talked chiefly about sport, and they asked me to go to a shoot on the next day at which ovis poli were to be driven by dogs; but I could not halt. The Cossack lieutenant made up a bed for me in his dining-room. Next day, after saying good-bye, we set out for the Shart Pass in the Alai Range, the shorter route over the Terek Pass being closed by high water in the river. All day we marched over grassy hills, and, after crossing a low divide, entered the Oxus basin and camped in the Alai valley near a Kirghiz encampment. The great Trans-Alai Range closed in the view to the south throughout the march.

On July 6 we crossed the Shart Pass, 12,000 feet high, but fairly easy, and entered the basin of the Sir Darya. The Kirghiz in the Alai valley are greedy and disobliging, very different to those on the Taghdumbash Pamir. On the north side of the pass stunted pine-trees were growing, the first we had seen since leaving Kashmir. Three more marches through a cultivated country, in which many Russian *monjiks* are settled, took us to Osh, where I put up in

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a serai. Our marches after leaving Kashgar had averaged twenty-six miles. Next morning I sold my whole camp equipment, and sent on the other baggage to Andijan in a cart. After parting with Maiyun, I followed in the motor-car which plies between Osh and Andijan. It did the distance of forty miles in two hours. On the following day I left Andijan with Amirullah by the Trans-Caspian Railway, and, after a night in the train, arrived at Samarcand. In the train I had a long conversation with a Tajik merchant, who dwelt on the beauties of Samarcand and the ease with which Russia had acquired it. The way in which the Russians mix with the inhabitants of the country is very striking. The Turkomans sit at the same tables with Russian officers and ladies in railway refreshment-rooms, and talk, laugh, and smoke, without restraint. At Samarcand I spent the better part of two days in looking at the splendid remains of the time of the Mohammedan rulers and wandering through the bazaars. The latter are full of cheap and inartistic Russian products. I then went on to Bokhara, but found that a special permit from the Minister of War was necessary for entering the city gate. On the advice of an Englishman engaged in the wool trade there, I went to Kagan and interviewed the Russian Political Officer about the matter. He obligingly offered to telegraph to the Governor-General with a view to obtaining permission, but, as this would have involved delay and possibly ultimate disappointment, I preferred not to wait, and took the train for Krasnovodsk. Thence I crossed the Caspian Sea, reached Batum by the Trans-Caucasian Railway, and, after crossing the Black Sea to Odessa, took train for Berlin. From there the journey to London was easy, and I arrived on July 30. I was lucky to get through Austria, as war was declared on Serbia, and the railways were closed on the day after I passed through.

I had booked a passage for Amirullah from Batum to Bombay by the Austrian Lloyd Line. He reached Trieste on August 8, and found it impossible to proceed by that line. He managed to reach Jeddah, but arrived there penniless. He was succoured by the Consul, and is taking the chance of visiting Mecca and Medina. No doubt when he returns to India his prestige will be very great.

A word may be said about Russian passports for Turkestan. Under the rules for Indian officers permission to visit that country has to be applied for through the Indian Government. If it is granted, the Indian Government provides a passport which is visaed by a Russian Consul in India. Unless care is taken that the visa is not merely a general one, but mentions Russian Turkestan specifically, the traveller will find that such a passport is useless if, as frequently happens, the local Russian authorities have not been informed that he is coming. My own visa was merely a general one, and the Russian Consul-General at Kashgar told me that it was valueless. If I had not been able to produce telegrams showing indisputably that the journey had been sanctioned by the Russian Government, it is certain that I would have been greatly delayed.

W. J. C. LAURIE.

November 8, 1914.

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RULES

OF

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

1. THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY was founded for the encouragement of interest in Central Asia by means of lectures, the reading of papers, and discussions.

2. Persons who desire to join the Society shall be proposed by one Member and seconded by another, and shall then be balloted for by the Council. Ladies are admissible.

3. The Secretary shall in all cases inform Members of their election.

4. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be £1.

5. The Council shall have power to remit subscriptions in special cases in which such remission shall appear expedient.

6. All subscriptions are due on election, and thereafter annually, but if the election takes place in November or December, the second annual payment will not become due till the expiration of the succeeding year; thus if a person be elected in November, his second subscription will not be due till the second January following.

7. Every person elected a Member of the Society shall make the payment due thereon within two calendar months after the date of election, or if abroad within six months after election; otherwise the election shall be void unless the Council in any particular case shall extend the period within which such payments are to be made.

8. Annual subscriptions shall be due on the tenth day of January in each year; and in case the same shall not be paid by the end of the month, the Treasurer or Secretary shall be authorized to demand the same. If any subscriptions remain unpaid at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, the Treasurer shall apply by letter to those Members who are in arrear. If the arrears be not discharged by the 1st of January following such application, the Member's name as a defaulter shall be suspended in the meeting room, and due notice be given to the Member in question of the same. The name shall remain suspended, unless in the interval the arrears be discharged, until the Anniversary Meeting next ensuing, when, if the subscription be not paid, the defaulter will cease to be a Member of the Society.

9. A Member, who is not in arrears, may at any time resign his membership by notice in writing, but such notice of resignation must reach the Secretary before the 1st of January, otherwise the subscription for the current year will be payable.

10. A Member's resignation shall not be valid, save by a resolution of the Council, until he has paid up all his arrears of subscription; failing this he will be considered as a defaulter, and dealt with in accordance with Rule 8.

11. The Officers of the Society shall be: (1) The Chairman, (2) the Honorary Treasurer, and (3) the Honorary Secretary, all of whom must be Members of the Society. In addition to these there shall be a Secretary.

12. The Chairman shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for one year from the date of his election. He shall be eligible for re-election on the expiration of his tenure of office.

13. The Honorary Treasurer and the Honorary Secretary shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting, on the nomination of the Council, for two years, and are eligible for re-election.

14. The Secretary shall hold office during the pleasure of the Council.

15. The Chairman, as head of the Society, shall have the general supervision of its affairs. He will preside at Meetings of the Council, conduct the proceedings, give effect to resolutions passed, and cause the Rules of the Society to be put in force. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees, and may at any time summon a Meeting of the Council.

16. The Honorary Treasurer shall receive all moneys, and shall account for them. He shall not make any payments (other than current and petty cash expenses) without the previous order of the Council. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees. He shall exercise a general supervision over the expenditure of the Society, and shall prepare and submit to the Auditors at the expiration of each year a statement showing the receipts and expenditure of the Society for the period in question. All cheques must be signed by him, or in his absence any Member of the Council acting for him.

17. The Honorary Secretary shall, in the absence of the Chairman, exercise a general control over the affairs of the Society, and shall, ex officio, be a Member of Council and of all Committees.

18. The Honorary Secretary shall attend the Meetings of the Society and of the Council and record their proceedings. He shall conduct the correspondence and attend to the general business of the

Society, and shall attend at the Rooms of the Society at such times as the Council may direct. He shall superintend the persons employed by the Society, subject to the general control of the Council. He shall be competent on his own responsibility to discharge small bills, but any account exceeding the amount of Five Pounds shall, except in cases of great urgency, be submitted for approval to the Council before payment. He shall have the charge, under the general direction of the Council, of printing and publishing the Transactions of the Society.

19. The Secretary shall act generally under the orders of the Hon. Secretary, and if at any time the former is prevented by illness or any other cause from attending to the duties of his office, the Hon. Secretary shall act in his absence; but in the case of prolonged absence the Council shall have power to make such special arrangements as may at the time be considered expedient.

20. There shall be a Council consisting of twelve Members of the Society, exclusive of the Chairman but inclusive of the Honorary Officers of the Society.

21. The Members of Council as aforesaid shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting on the nomination of the Chairman in Council, subject to any amendment of which due notice has been given, as provided in Rule 23.

22. There shall be prepared and forwarded to every Member in Great Britain, together with the notice as to the Anniversary Meeting, a list containing the names of persons so nominated to serve on the Council for the ensuing year, together with any other names, should they be proposed and seconded by other Members, a week's notice being given to the Secretary. The List of Members nominated as aforesaid shall be first put to the Meeting, and, if carried, the amendments (if any) shall not be put.

23. Of the Members of Council other than those referred to in Rules 12 and 13—*i.e.*, the Officers—three shall retire annually by seniority. They shall be eligible for re-election.

24. Should any vacancy occur among the Honorary Officers or other Members of Council during the interval between two Anniversary Meetings, such vacancy may be filled up by the Council.

25. The Ordinary Meetings of Council shall be held not less than once a month from November to June inclusive.

26. Special Meetings of Council may be summoned under the sanction of the Chairman, or in his absence by a circular letter from the Secretary.

27. Three Members of the Council shall constitute a quorum.

28. At Meetings of Council the Chair shall be taken by the Chairman, and in his absence the Senior Member present shall take the Chair. The decision of any matter shall rest with the majority, and in case of an equality of votes the Chairman shall have the casting vote in addition to his ordinary vote.

29. Committees may be appointed by the Council to report on specific questions, and unless otherwise stated three shall form a quorum. Such Committees shall be authorized to consult persons not members of the Society.

30. Ordinary General Meetings are for hearing and discussing papers and for addresses, but no resolutions other than votes of thanks for papers read shall be passed at such meetings except by permission of the Chairman.

31. Special General Meetings are for considering and dealing with matters of importance, such as the making or amendment of its Rules, or questions seriously affecting its management and constitution. No business shall be transacted at such meetings except that for which they are summoned, and of which notice has been given.

32. The Anniversary Meeting for receiving and considering the Annual Report of the Council and Auditors, and dealing with the recommendations contained therein for the appointment of Members of the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, and for hearing the President's Address (if any), and deliberating generally on the affairs of the Society, shall be held in June of each year. But no resolution seriously affecting the management or position of the Society, or altering its Rules, shall be passed unless due notice shall have been given in the manner prescribed for Special General Meetings.

33. Ordinary Meetings shall be convened by notice issued to accessible Members, and as a general rule they shall be held on the first Wednesday in each month from November to May, both inclusive, the Wednesday of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas weeks being excepted. At such meetings, and also at the Anniversary Meeting, but not at special General Meetings, each Member of the Society shall have the privilege of introducing, either personally or by card, two visitors.

34. Ten Members shall form a quorum.

The Accounts shall be audited annually by an Auditor nominated by the Council. The employment of a professional Auditor shall be permissible. The Report presented by the Auditor shall be read at the next ensuing Anniversary Meeting.

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF
THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

CORRECTED TO MARCH 1, 1915

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

Chairman :

1914. THE RT. HON. SIR H. MORTIMER DURAND, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I.,
K.C.I.E.

Vice-Presidents :

1904. LORD LAMINGTON, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.
1905. LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.I.E.
1906. COLONEL SIR THOMAS H. HOLDICH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B.
1908. SIR VALENTINE CHIROL.
1908. RT. HON. LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
1913. THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, M.P.

Hon. Treasurer :

1914. SIR EVAN JAMES, K.C.I.E.

Hon. Secretary :

1914. E. PENTON, ESQ.

Members of the Council :

1914. SIR FREDERIC FRYER, K.C.S.I.
1914. LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.
1912. COLONEL PEMBERTON, R.E.
1912. COLONEL SIR HENRY TROTTER, K.C.M.G., C.B.
1912. SIR WALTER LAWRENCE, G.C.I.E.
1913. E. R. P. MOON, ESQ.
1913. COLONEL J. G. KELLY, C.B.
1914. A. L. P. TUCKER, ESQ.

Secretary

1905. MISS HUGHES.

LIST OF MEMBERS

The names marked with an asterisk are of those who have served on the Council. The names in capitals are those of present Members of Council. Names in italics are those of Councillors resident in India. The names marked with a dagger are those of original Members.

A

1910. Abdul Qaiyum, Khan Bahadur Sahibzada, C.I.E., Assistant Political Officer, Khaiber, Peshawar, N.W.F. Province.
 †Aglionby, Captain A., Junior Naval and Military Club, 96, Piccadilly, W.
 1912. Allen, G. B., Free Chase, Warninglid, Sussex.

B

1908. Baddeley, F. J., 34, Bruton Street, W.
 1910. Bailey, Captain F. M., 7, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, N.B.
 1914. Baillie, J. R., 1, Akenside Road, Hampstead, N.W.
 1906. Bailward, Colonel A. C., R.A. (ret.), 1, Prince's Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.
 1905. Barnes, Sir Hugh Shakespear, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., 7, Cheyne Place, Chelsea.
 1913. Barrow, Major-General Sir Edmund, G.C.B., Artillery Mansions Hotel, S.W.
 10 1910. Beauclerk, Lord Osborne de Vere, Brooks' Club, 4, St. James's Street, S.W.
 1907. Benn, Major R. A., C.I.E., Political Agent, Kalat, Baluchistan.
 †Bennett, T. J., Harwarton House, Speldhurst, Kent.
 1910. Bigg-Wither, Captain F., I.A., Deputy Commr., c/o Messrs. A. Scott and Co., Rangoon, Burma.
 1914. Binstead, Captain G. C., Essex Regiment, Hanover Court, Hanover Square, W.
 1909. Blandy, J. E., Madeira.
 1903. Bottomley, Frank, 157, Sheen Road, Richmond, Surrey.
 †Bruce, Lieut.-Col. C. D., Wynters Grange, Harlow, Essex.
 †Buchanan, W. A., 23, Great Winchester Street, E.C.
 1912. Bury, The Viscount, Guards' Club, 70 Pall Mall, S.W.
 20 1914. Bury, C. Howard, Bath Club, Dover Street, W.

C

1907. Cadell, P., c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
 †Carey, A. D., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
 1908. CHIROL, Sir Valentine, 34, Carlyle Square, Chelsea, S.W. Vice-President.
 1908. Cox, Lieut.-Col. Sir Percy Z., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Knockdrin, Simla.

1914. Crewdson, Wilson, J.P., F.S.A., Southside, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1914. Crewdson, Captain W. T. O., R.F.A., Nowshera, India.
 †Crow, Mrs. F. A., 17, Westgate Terrace, Redcliffe Gardens, S.W.
 1907. Cunningham, Sir William, K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (ret.), Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.
 1907. CURZON OF KEDLESTON, The Rt. Hon. Earl, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Hackwood, near Basingstoke, Hants, Vice-President.

D

- 30** 1908. Dane, Hon. Sir Louis, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Clarendon Lodge, Millbrook, Hants.
 1908. Daukes, Captain C. T., c/o Thos. Cook and Son, Bombay, India.
 †Dartrey, The Earl of, 10, Upper Belgrave Street, S.W.
 1906. Davis, W. S., Bhopal Agency, Sehore, Central India.
 1903. *Donoughmore, The Earl of, 5, Chesterfield Gardens, W.
 1906. Dobbs, H. R. C., I.C.S., Sibi, Baluchistan, India.
 1910. Douglas, Captain H. A., Derwent Lodge, Lansdowne Road, Tunbridge Wells.
 1913. Douglas-Pennant, Captain Hon. G. H., Guards' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1910. Drummond, Miss, Kensington Palace Mansions, W.
 1908. *†Durand, Colonel A. G. A., C.B., C.I.E., 31, Park Lane.
40 1907. *DURAND, The Right Hon. Sir H. Mortimer, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., 42, Montagu Square, W. Chairman.

E

- †Elphinstone, Lord, Carlton Club, 94, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1911. Etherton, Captain P., Lansdowne, Garhwal, U.P., India.

F

1907. Fancourt, Col. St. J. F. M., C.B., Deancroft, near Stowmarket, Suffolk.
 1906. FRYER, Sir Frederic, K.C.S.I., 23, Elvaston Place, Queen's Gate, S.W.

G

1908. Gabriel, Vivian, C.S.I., C.V.O., I.C.S., c/o The Foreign Department, Government of India, Simla, India.
 1913. Garrard, S. H., Cavalry Club, and Welton Place, Daventry, Northants.
 1909. Gearon, Miss S., Ladies' Empire Club, 69, Grosvenor Street, W.
 1908. Gibson, Miss, 101, Philbeach Gardens, S.W.
 1908. Godfrey, Lieut.-Col. Stuart H., Indian Army. Political Agent, Dir. Swat and Chitral. Malakand N W F

H

- 50** 1904. *Hart-Davies, T., I.C.S. (ret.), East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
 †Hills-Johnes, General Sir James, V.C., G.C.B., Dolaucothy. Llanwrda, R.S.O., South Wales.
 *†HOLDICH, Colonel Sir Thomas H., K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., 41, Courtfield Road, S.W. Vice-President.
 1908. Howell, E. B., I.C.S., Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, 23, Chesterton Road, Cambridge.
 1906. Hughes, T. O., Political Agent, Panjgur via Karachi, India.

I

1906. India, Secretary of State for, India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
 †Inglis, Major J. D., St. Mary's, Colchester, Essex.
 1915. Ingram, M. B., Cavendish Club, Piccadilly, W.

J

- *†JAMES, Sir Evan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Glenshee, Cambridge Park, Twickenham. M. of C.
 †Jardine, Mrs., 21, Pembroke Crescent, Bayswater, W.
60 *†Jardine, W. E., I.C.S., C.I.E., The Residency, Gwalior, Central India.
 1908. Jennings, Col. R. H., R.E. (ret.), C.S.I., 20, Roland Gardens, S.W.

K

1907. *KELLY, Col. J. G., C.B., 30, West Cromwell Road, Kensington, W. M. of C.
 1913. Kemp, Miss, 26, Harley House, Regent's Park, N.W.
 †King, Sir H. Seymour, K.C.I.E., 25, Cornwall Gardens, S.W.

L

1904. *LAMINGTON, The Rt. Hon. Lord, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., 26, Wilton Crescent, S.W., Vice-President.
 1914. Laurie, W. J. C., I.C.S., c/o The Secretariat, Behar and Orissa, Bhagalpur, India.
 1907. *LAWRENCE, Sir Walter, Bart., G.C.I.E., 22, Sloane Gardens, S.W., M. of C.
 1908. *Lloyd, George, M.P., '99, Eaton Place, S.W.
 1912. Loch, Lieutenant P. G., 97th Infantry, c/o Messrs. Cox & Co., Bombay, India.
70 1908. Lockhart, Lady, C.L., 187, Queen's Gate, S.W.
 1909. Lyall, Captain, R.A., I.A., Parachinar, Kurrum Valley, N.W.F. Province, India.

M

1909. Macartney, Sir George, K.C.I.E., H.B.M. Consul, Kashgar, Chinese Turkestan.
 1915. McCoy, Mrs., c/o Messrs. Glyn, Mills, and Co., 67, Lombard Street, E.C.

1903. Malcolm, Lieut.-Colonel Neill, D.S.O., Staff College, Sandhurst.
1906. McMahon, Lieut.-Colonel Sir H., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., Sec. to Government of India, Foreign Dept., Calcutta, India.
1915. Maunsell, Colonel, Constitutional Club, Northumberland Avenue.
1912. Medlicott, Captain H., Cavalry Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1910. Miles, Lieut.-Colonel P. J., 51st Sikhs, Peshawar, India.
1903. Moon, E. R. P., 6, Onslow Gardens, S.W. M. of C.
- 80 †Murray, John, M.A., D.L., J.P., F.S.A., 50A, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, W.

N

1905. Neill, Professor J. W., I.C.S. (ret.), 4, Campden House Chambers, Kensington, W

O

1906. O'Connor, Major W. F. T., R.A., C.I.E., Foreign Office, Calcutta, India.
1905. Oliver, D. G., 67th Punjabis, Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W.

P

1914. Parker, Alwyn, Foreign Office, S.W.
- †Peel, The Viscount, 52, Grosvenor Street, W.
1907. PEMBERTON, Col., R.E. (ret.), B6, The Albany, Piccadilly, W., and Pyrland Hall, Taunton. M. of C.
- *†PENTON, E., 2, Cambridge Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W. Hon. Sec. M. of C. *
- †Perowne, J. T. Woolrych, Posbury House, Crediton, Devon.
1914. Perry-Ayscough, H. G. C., c/o The Chinese Post Office, Shanghai, China (via Siberia).
- 90 1908. Phipson, H., 10, Hyde Park Mansions, W.
- †Picot, Colonel, Indian Army (ret.), 43, Onslow Gardens, S.W.

R

1910. Baines, Lady, 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W.
1912. Richmond, Mrs. Bruce, 3, Sumner Place, S.W.
1904. *RIDGEWAY, The Rt. Hon. Sir West, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., LL.D., 10, Ormonde Gate, S.W. M. of C.
- †RONALDSHAY, THE EARL OF, M.P., 38, Grosvenor Street, W. Vice-President.
1914. Rose, Archibald, H.B.M. China Consular Service, British Legation, Pekin.

S

1907. Salano, E. J., 4, Park Lane, W.
 †Sandbach, General A. E., D.S.O., R.E., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W.
 1903. Showers, Major H. L., C.S.I., C.I.E., Resident at Jaipur, Rajputana, c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 54, Parliament Street, Westminster, S.W.
 1100 1912. Stainton, B. W., c/o Messrs. Hickie, Borman, Grant & Co., 14, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1903. Stein, J. J., 19, Kensington Court, W.
 1909. Stein, Sir Aurel, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc. Superintendent Arch. Survey, Frontier Circle, Peshawar, N.W.F.P., India.
 1910. Stirling, Capt. H. F. D., 59th Sind Rifles, Frontier Force, Chitral, N.W.F. Province, India.
 1907. Stokes, Major C. B., 3rd Skinner's Horse, Military Attaché at Teheran, 50, Marlborough Hill, N.W.
 †Sykes, Miss Ella E., Elcombs, Lyndhurst, Hants.
 1905. Sykes, Miss Ethel R., Elcombs, Lyndhurst, Hants.
 1904. Sykes, H. R., Longnor Hall, Leebotwood, Shrewsbury.
 1907. Sykes, Colonel P. Molesworth, C.I.E., C.M.G., H.B.M. Acting Consul-General, Kashgar.

T

1903. Tanner, Miss, Parkside, Corsham, Wilts.
 1100 1903. Tayler, Miss H., 34, Kensington Court Mansions, W.
 1908. Taylor, Arthur Boddam, 123, Sinclair Road, W. Kensington, W.
 1905. Thomas, F. W., Ph.D., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
 1908. Tod, Lieut.-Col. J. K., Indian Army, 7th Hariana Lancers, Jacobabad, Sind, India.
 1907. Trevor, Sir Arthur, K.C.S.I., 16, Harcourt Terrace, Redcliffe Square, S.W.
 1907. Trotter, Col. Sir H., K.C.M.G., C.B., 18, Eaton Place S.W. M. of C.
 1915. Tryon, Capt. H. W., J.P. (late Gordon Highlanders), 32, Hans Mansions, S.W.
 1908. *Tucker, A. L. P., Hayes, Northiam, Sussex. M. of C.
 1903. Tupp, Mrs. Cotterell, Hazel Bank, The Scores, St. Andrews, N.B.

V

1905. Vanderbyl, P. B., B4, The Albany, Piccadilly, W.

W

- 1200 1911. Waller, Miss D., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W.
 1911. Waller-Sawyer, Mrs., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W., and Moystown House, Belmont, King's Co., Ireland.
 †Walton, Sir Joseph, M.P., Reform Club, 104, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1905. Watson, Major John William, I.M.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay, Groome and Co., Bombay.

- †Whitbred, S. H., 5, Half Moon Street, W.
 1912. Woods, H. C., 171, Victoria Street, S.W.

Y

- †YATE, Lieut.-Colonel Arthur C., Beckbury Hall, Shifnal,
 Shropshire. M. of C.
 1905. Yate, Colonel C. E., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., 17, Prince of Wales
 Terrace, W.
 128 †YOUNGHUSBAND, Lieut. - Col. Sir Francis E., K.C.I.E.,
 3, Buckingham Gate, S.W., Vice-President.

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TURKEY, THE WAR, AND CLIMATIC INFLUENCES IN ASIA MINOR

By SIR EDWIN PEARS

THE Chairman (Sir MORTIMER DURAND) presided at a meeting of the Society on March 17, 1915, and in asking Sir Edwin Pears to deliver his lecture, he said Sir Edwin spoke from forty-two years' experience of Turkey, and needed no introduction.

In the course of his lecture, Sir EDWIN PEARS said :

When I was invited by the Council of the Central Asian Society to read a paper before you having reference to the war now in progress, I felt my incompetence for the task. I am not a soldier ; but, in the course of my long residence in Turkey and during my many years' researches into the history of the Greek and subsequently of the Turkish Empire, I arrived at certain conclusions as to the manner in which geographical conditions had affected the history of Constantinople, and of the countries over which it ruled, which I thought were worth the consideration of men who, in thinking of the war now going on in Turkey, were not merely content with the newspaper history of our times. I should prefer to call what I have to say, "Remarks on Certain Factors which have affected the History of Asia Minor and still influence its Political Conditions."

A rough idea of its geography may be found by representing the country as an inverted dish, containing a high tableland varying from 2,500 to 10,000 feet high, and with edges sloping down to the shores of the Levant, the Black Sea, and the *Ægean*. The eastern portion of Asia Minor is the highest, and it is there, where a series of mountain ranges and gorges exist, that one finds the battlefield, now and during long centuries, between the Armenian and other races. Principally, in our time, the struggle is between the Armenians, the Kurds, and the Turks. When the history of the remarkable Nestorian church comes to be fully written, we shall obtain much more information about the struggles in this part of Asia Minor than we possess.

A valuable book appeared in the spring of last year by the Rev. Dr. Wigram entitled, "The Cradle of Mankind," which gives from personal experience an account of the present struggles between the Kurds, the Armenians, the Nestorians, and the Turks. The photographs and sketches reproduced in this book enable the reader to form a vivid

idea of the character of the country, and enable him to understand how isolated communities could readily be locked up and almost forgotten. Such communities still exist in remarkable isolation.

The Armenians, I fancy, have always been a healthy and prolific race. Their struggles show them to have been vigorous and courageous, and their recent history shows them, to say the least, to be in intelligence not inferior to any race in Turkey. Their courage shows best, however, in mountainous districts. Their defence of Zeitoun, in what in the Middle Ages was called Little Armenia, against the troops of Abdul Hamid, who was reputed to have determined to annihilate the community of the rock fortress, compares well with the bravest deeds of the Montenegrins. Happily their extermination was prevented by the intervention of nearly all the ambassadors in Constantinople, urged thereto by the Press of France and especially of England. But for my present purpose I want to point to them as an illustration of a vigorous people who by the character of their early homes were largely isolated and yet succeeded in holding their own in spite of dispersals of their people and of massacres when they abandoned their mountain isolation. Those who were killed on the plains to which they had descended were soon replaced by their kinsmen from the mountains. Recalling the elevation of Eastern Armenia—Erzeroum at 6,200 feet above sea level—you will realize that the cold in winter is intense. But the climate is healthy, and has produced a sturdy race in that portion of Asia Minor.

The physical conformation of the western portion has also had its effect upon the population. Asia Minor, north of the Levant, has the great range of the Taurus. At its western extremity a range runs northwards with high peaks, some of them snow-covered in July, and with deep, rugged, almost impassable, valleys. These must at all times have afforded shelter to fugitive populations. Everyone of course recalls that the British population were driven to Wales and other portions of the west of England, but our mountain districts can hardly be compared with those of the Taurus. The southern range has been for centuries an almost impassable barrier from Cilicia to the Plain of Konia, except through the Cilician Gates; but in that range, as well as in the one running northward from it, there are abundance of places well supplied with water, where small communities could live and be safe from attack. Such communities would usually be cut off more or less completely from their fellow-men.

Travellers in Asia Minor are constantly struck with the existence of such isolated communities. Curiously enough, also, it has been the habit, certainly during the last three centuries, of the conquering race to transport whole communities from one place to another. Thus, at Bardazag, about sixty miles from Constantinople, there is a town containing perhaps 20,000 inhabitants, all of whom are Armenians. Thirty

years ago I returned from my first visit to Nicæa, the "city of the Creed," with the late Hamdi Bey, whom Oxford honoured some five or six years ago by conferring on him the degree of D.C.L. We rode along the beautiful shores of Lake Ascanius, and then struck into the mountain range which separates the lake from the Gulf of Ismidt. Half-way across we reached an Armenian town of 3,000 inhabitants, and spent the night there. The leading members called upon us during the evening, but could give us no information as to where their ancestors had come from, except that it was somewhere in Armenia. The only other villages in its neighbourhood were either Greek or Turkish.

But I am not thinking of these isolated settlements, to which a parallel may be found in the Slav villages existing in Switzerland less than a century ago, but rather of communities which have become isolated by their geographical position. The isolation may be in mountain fastnesses, or even in underground dwellings, as in Cappadocia. I am looking forward with interest to the completion of the work of Mr. Dawkins, who has paid special attention to the Greek dialects spoken in Greek villages more or less isolated in Cappadocia. Such villages exist hidden away in the great mountain ranges or in underground villages. The Turkish conquerors, with their nomad habits, took possession of the plains, and the population whom they displaced either took refuge or were driven into the mountains. Round about Karamania, and in the districts bordered by the Taurus on the south, running east and west, and the extension of the range running north and south, with many high peaks, there are many Greek and other villages hidden away in the mountain valleys. I may mention two which I visited. Sillé is not many miles from Konia, and the mountain valley in which it is situated bears marks of its having long been inhabited. The hills are pierced with rock dwellings, but, with the exception of a handful of Turkish officials, all the inhabitants are Greek. I learnt from the priest that they got on well with the Turks, because the head of the largest order of Dervishes—the Mehlevi—at Konia, like his predecessors, had always been favourable to them. Every year, at the festival of the Church, the Chilibè of the Dervishes sent them a present of a barrel of oil and another of wine. A few days afterwards I had an interview with the Chilibè in Konia, who confirmed the statement of the priest, and gave the following explanation: "We are an ancient community which preceded Islam and even Christianity, and when the Seljuks came here they expelled the Christian inhabitants, who were allowed to take refuge in the hills. We objected to such expulsion, because we recognized that Christians, like ourselves, are the 'sons of God,' and my predecessors constantly sent them presents as an expression of sympathy. That expression has come into the dispatch of wine and oil, as you found."

At the distance of perhaps fifty miles farther south I visited the Valley of Ivriz, where the famous Hittite monuments exist, probably dating, according to the Hittite experts, about 900 B.C. You will remember the two great figures of the king and priest, together with the long Hittite inscription. About a mile and a half farther up the valley there is a curious duplicate of these sculptures, also hewn out of the naked rock; and there are the remains of what was possibly a Christian church, though it probably served at an earlier time as a pagan temple, dedicated to Sun-worship. The inhabitants of the valley have a type which recalls the Hittite sculptures, and, according to their neighbours some twenty miles away, professed neither Christianity nor Islam, but had certain rites which pointed to Sun-worship. Some twenty-five years ago, however, after the sculptures had been brought to the notice of Western Europeans and occasional visitors went to see them, the people attracted the attention of the Governor of Konia, who took the necessary means to inform them that they were Moslems, and compelled them to build a mosque. When we visited the place there was no attempt on the part of the women to cover their faces, and the mosque did not appear to be much used. The Jezidis, or Devil-worshippers, are another people whose existence as a community has been largely aided by the physical conditions of the country in which they live. A distinguished Roman Catholic archæologist agreed with me that it would not be impossible to find in Asia Minor the representatives of every great heresy which once had a vogue in the Christian Church. The preservation of all these isolated communities has been largely due to the physical formation of the country.

It is their existence which, among other causes, has contributed to the non-absorption by the Ottoman race of the various peoples over whom it rules. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the Turks have continued the practice mentioned of transporting communities from one part of the country to another. The latest illustration of this practice is specially unpleasant: the Turks during the last two years have driven out nearly every Greek, Bulgarian, and Armenian from Thrace. When it is remembered that this was done by a Government which five years ago promised religious equality to all races of the empire, one despairs of any moral progress in the country.

I now come, however, to what is perhaps the most important of the physical causes which have affected the history of Asia Minor and Syria. Readers of the Old Testament have often been puzzled at the numbers of the people of Palestine and its neighbourhood, and of the armies that were assembled. In a controversy which some of the oldest among us remember, Bishop Colenso, whose books on Algebra and Arithmetic were our textbooks at school, attacked the statements as to numbers in a volume which would probably now attract little atten-

tion. An attempt was made to drive him out of the Church, whereupon Bishop Wilberforce is said to have remarked: "Colenso is familiar with Genesis and Numbers, but does not believe in Exodus."

In my studies on the history of Constantinople and the Greek Empire I was struck with the accounts given by various contemporaries of the numerous hordes said to have been sent from Arabia within a century after Mahomet's death. For example, at the Siege of Constantinople in 717, no less than 380,000 men sat down before the city during five successive years and failed to take it. But at that time Moslem armies of Arabs, no doubt reinforced by new converts from Syria and the north coast of Africa, were fighting their way to the Atlantic, across into Spain, until they met their fate in 732 at the great Battle of Tours, where Charles Martel—Charles the Hammer—smashed their army, and prevented, as Gibbon observes, the possible establishment of a school of Moslem theology at Oxford. About six years ago I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Elsworth Huntington, who had been a member of the United States Commission in South Central Asia, whose scientific work is doubtless well known to many members of this Society. Those not acquainted with it have probably read Sven Hedin's book, which gives details of his discoveries, not only of Buddhist civilization, but of great climatic changes in the district which allowed manuscripts and many other remains of civilization to continue in existence up to the present time. The scientific work of the Americans in taking the various sea levels on the Caspian and elsewhere suggested to Mr. Huntington the idea of examining whether and how far similar causes had been in operation in Palestine. It was already known that the Dead Sea showed indications of a change of level in the Valley of the Jordan. I urged upon him that he should also direct his attention to the depopulation of Arabia. In his "Transformation of Palestine," a book which probably many have read, he necessarily gives his first attention to Palestine itself. His book is scientific, illuminating, and of great value, as well as being eminently readable. His researches cover a much wider field than that of Palestine, and lead to the conclusion that at various epochs within the historic period there have been alternate seasons of drought and moisture, and that the changes thus brought about had great influence on the political situation of every country between Egypt and Persia. So far as I know, a Russian explorer is the only writer to whom the idea of alternate climatic changes had suggested itself. Mr. Huntington read a paper on "Olympia" before the Royal Geographical Society, in which he explained his theory, in presence of some of our greatest experts of Greek history, most of whom regarded the theory with a proper amount of scientific scepticism. Leaving aside, however, the application of such theory to Greece, under the circumstances dealt with, candid readers will admit that for Syria and

Arabia he has made out a strong case. Many of his illustrations relate to the period before our era. With them I need not deal. But many later illustrations are given. The Mongols, for example, under Yenghis Khan, who on his death in 1227 had established his rule from the Sea of Japan to the Dnieper, appeared in overwhelming numbers from the north, drove the Arabs beyond Bagdad, and threatened to conquer all Asia Minor and Syria. No entirely satisfactory explanation of the causes which set these great masses of men in motion has been given. They were not apparently due to the ambition of military leaders; they were not the results of dynastic struggles. They appear like spontaneous movements of men set in motion by a common impulse. While not forgetting in the case of Moslem advance the influence of religious enthusiasm, few of the invaders had accepted Islam. Moreover, such influence is insufficient to account for movements which were overwhelming by reason of the numbers of the assailants. At a subsequent period—namely, the end of the fourteenth century—Tamarlane, or Timour the Tartar, made a raid under somewhat similar circumstances into Asia Minor.

Perhaps the most striking illustration of the changes of climate is to be found in the existence and subsequent disappearance of roads between Egypt and the Persian Gulf. Let it be noted that during the last 3,000 years a constant political question has been the capture of trade between the East and the West. Such a question is still before us. Roughly speaking, the great traffic between Europe and India was conveyed for 2,000 years along roads. One of these ancient highways wound its way on the seashore from Egypt to Philistia and Judæa and passed eastwards, following the depression now traversed by the Haifa-Damascus Railway, and then struck southward to Joaf. Such road is now absolutely deserted. The most ancient, however, went northward to Petra, which is in the Ghor, thence to Gerassa or Jerash, passing, on the eastward side of the Jordan, through towns, many of which are uninhabited or uninhabitable. Petra, whose grandiose ruins show it to have been a flourishing town, is uninhabited. Philadelphia, Gerassa, Basra, and other places on the route, are occupied by a population not one-tenth, and in some cases not one-hundredth, as great as in the past. Gerassa, since 1883, has been occupied by a handful of Circassians. Its ruins show that it was once a flourishing and well-populated city. One of its theatres, 300 feet in diameter, would seat easily six times the population of the present town, estimated at from 1,200 to 1,500 persons. Its wealth may be judged by its ruins, a colonnaded street with almost 600 limestone columns and carved capitals, with cross streets similarly ornamented. In the time of Christ other parts of the same country were equally prosperous. Great slabs of sculpture from Mishatta, now in Berlin, may serve as another illustration. The ruins also

around the Sea of Galilee, as of Moab, exist by hundreds, and are deserted because the country is unproductive.

In reply to the question, "Why have these countries become less fertile and seen their population diminish?" Mr. Huntington produces evidence to show that all the region of North Arabia and its neighbourhood have been subject to long seasons of drought, alternating with comparatively moist periods. We are now apparently in a long dry period, and the country is less productive of food for man and beast than it once was. Misgovernment under Turkish rule is not a negligible factor; but it plays a comparatively insignificant part in presence of physical causes. Nature has largely written the story of the fluctuation of climate in this part of the world, and notably in the geological depressions, called the Ghor, of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, as far as the Gulf of Akaba. Various members of the Palestine Exploration Fund have at different times given their attention to this subject, amongst them, notably, Lord Kitchener. The Dead Sea, as you are aware, is 1,200 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. Mr. Huntington contends that its level has fluctuated greatly, and fluctuates somewhat, though very slowly, to-day. Such fluctuations are recorded in a series of old strands. Dr. Masterman, of Jerusalem, who has paid much attention to the Dead Sea, concludes that the old strands or beaches may mark old sea-levels well within historic times. Evidence shows that its level was higher during such times than now. The Book of Joshua—probably edited in its present form in the fifth or sixth century B.C.—gives the position of the northern end. M. Claremont Ganneau, one of the most competent of Biblical critics, concludes that in the time of Joshua the level was 300 feet higher than now, though Professor Huntington claims no more than 70 feet. A Russian pilgrim in 1106 stated that "the sea fled in terror at the approach of Christ to receive baptism," the basis of his story being that he recognized at once that the sea once stood at a higher level. Jericho, with its three thousand years of history, once stood on the borders of the Dead Sea, and is now between 500 and 600 feet above its level. The situation of the ruined cities around the Sea of Galilee, no longer on its shores, tell the same story and explain why Palestine has become a thirsty land.

Returning to the existence of roads across Syria to the Persian Gulf within the period of later Biblical history, there were at least five well-known roads from Egypt to Bagdad or Basra. I have already mentioned the two which went to Gerassa. King Solomon, whose reign centres round the year 1000 B.C., endeavoured to divert the trade between East and West through Palestine. The period was one of moisture, and he largely succeeded in his efforts. Solomon's reign indeed marks the culmination of Israel's prosperity. The two roads already mentioned, however, became impracticable after a few

centuries for want of water. In the time of Christ only the two most northerly ones were used. The most northerly one, which passed through Palmyra, is the most interesting for my purpose. It was the "Tadmor of the Wilderness" of the Bible. It was situated 120 miles from Damascus, in an oasis of the Syrian Desert. Three centuries before Christ the route through it to the Persian Gulf had already become a favourite one, and had attracted the attention of the Roman authorities. All will remember its famous Arab Queen, Zenobia, by whom Syria, Arabia, and Egypt were brought under her rule. In 272 the Queen, with her people, resisted Rome, and the Emperor Aurelian defeated her. The period of drought had already set in, and the city not only never recovered its prosperity, but became so far forgotten that when one of the British colonists at our factory in Aleppo visited and identified the ruins about 1650, its rediscovery was considered as an important historical event. Its superb ruins, which I regret to say I only know from photographs and descriptions, bear witness to its former wealth and civilization. Its depopulation and destruction were really completed by a period of prolonged and intense aridity in the seventh century, a century which is marked by many raids of Arabian tribes upon their neighbours on every side.

In the midst of this turmoil and of this period of drought came the message of Mahomet. The Arabs had been prosperous, but were then greatly divided in religious as in other matters. Tribe now fought with tribe for the water and pasture of their own lands. Mahomet furnished them with a common impulse, and instead of Arab devouring Arab, they turned their attention to foreign countries.

It may have occurred to some of you to ask what all this has to do with the present condition of Turkey. I will endeavour to explain. I repeat that the trade between East and West has always been an important political factor. The country now called Turkey has always been largely indebted to such traffic. The Romans, before the time of Christ, had recognized the importance of this traffic, and therefore, when the ancient roads disappeared, set themselves to making others in places where there was less liability of complete failure of water. The great Justinian, whom all lawyers know as the codifier of Roman law—meaning thereby the law of the New Rome—was still more famous in his time and for long afterwards as the builder, especially of bridges and roads. After the lapse of upwards of thirteen centuries the outlines of his roads are still traceable and some of his bridges are still used. I may mention, notably, one which is near the Lake of Sabanja. At a distance it resembles Waterloo Bridge, being probably about the same length, and its roadway is on a level—that is, not rising to the centre. At one end is a *tête du pont*, facing the roadway on the bridge at right angles, and as well adapted for use as when Justinian erected it. Possibly the fact that for a long period

the river has ceased to flow beneath it has had something to do with its preservation. Texier states that there was an inscription on it which he attributed to Justinian; but as when I visited it it was raining very heavily, I have to take the inscription on trust. The successors of Justinian down to the twelfth century paid great attention to roads and bridges, and Constantinople in consequence prospered, for the capital had succeeded largely in diverting the traffic between the Persian Gulf to Europe through to the Bosphorus. The inroads of the Turks and other nomadic people made communication between the towns difficult, greatly impoverished the country, and led to the non-use of the roads, which for all practical purposes disappeared. Let it be said to the credit of the now discredited Young Turkish Party that it largely occupied itself with various useful schemes for the construction of roads. But everyone now recognizes that in addition to ordinary carriage roads railways are necessary. It would be useless here to attempt to mention the various projects, mostly due to English engineers, for constructing a great Trunk Railway, either from a Syrian port or from Constantinople itself, to the Persian Gulf. In 1874 and 1875 the Turkish Government built a railway from Haidar Pasha, opposite Constantinople, to Ismidt. This was then taken over from the Government for its working by an Englishman and an Austrian. One of the clauses of the Concession was that an extension should be granted, the idea already being to make such line the commencement of one to Bagdad. This was to serve the purpose of the great roads made by the emperors, but of course brought up to date. The Germans, however, interfered to prevent the extension being granted, and after the first visit of the present Kaiser to Turkey the Turks evicted the two concessionaires of the Haidar Pasha-Ismidt Railway and gave it over to the Germans. An action was brought before a mixed Commission, and £132,000 were awarded as compensation. Germany had thus got the head of the line. Her influence was greatly increased on the occasion of the second visit of the Kaiser, which was in 1898, and the famous Bagdad Railway Concession was granted in 1902. The railway is now built from Constantinople to the Taurus. The crossing of the range is difficult on account of the friable nature of the rocks, but the necessary works are nearly completed. Once in Cilicia, the railway joins up with the short one from Mersina to Adana, of which for twelve years I was Chairman. From Adana to the foot of the Amanus range the construction is easy, and is in part accomplished. The piercing of that range will be a more difficult task. Thence it is proposed to take it on to Aleppo, from whence it will proceed to Jerablus, a site of great archæological interest, where Mr. Hogarth, equally keen as an archæologist and observer as he is lucid as a writer, has already made a series of interesting excavations. Let it be said to the credit

of the Kaiser that when he learned that there was danger of these excavations being interfered with, he immediately promised, and I believe actually sent orders, that the plan should be changed in such a way as to prevent interference with the examination of the mounds on which Mr. Hogarth was engaged. Thence across towards Bagdad is easy enough.

The question of what political arrangements should be made in reference to the terminus of the railway on the Persian Gulf is one which it would be premature to examine. Let me mention as an interesting fact that Mr. David Forbes went in his motor-car from Aleppo to Bagdad. He found that his car need not want a better road to travel on than the desert itself, and expressed his opinion very confidently to me that if a sum that would not exceed £1,000 were spent in improving the roads leading down to and up from the rivers to the desert again, motor-cars might run regularly from Aleppo to Bagdad in four days.

The Bagdad Railway will take the place of the great historic roads that since the time of Solomon have run across Syria. It is necessary for the development of the country, and indeed every mile of railway constructed in Asia Minor and Syria is pure gain for the people. But it does not appear to me that the Bagdad Railway will be of much use to Constantinople itself. Sea traffic being always very much cheaper than land traffic, merchandise for Western Europe, when coming from the East, is much more likely to be transhipped at Alexandretta, or even at Smyrna, than that it should be brought to Constantinople.

There can be no doubt, however, that Germany attaches great importance to her interest in the construction of the Bagdad Railway. It is her most important interest in Asia Minor. Whether it remains in German hands or is internationalized, it will be, when completed, of great commercial importance to all the lands through which it passes. Beyond that, however, I do not believe that it will satisfy the dreams of some of its supporters. If commercially and by peaceful penetration Asia Minor should become Germany's place in the sun, we should have little reason to complain. But if the idea is that in the ordinary operation commerce will once more find its way between Europe and Asia across the Asia Minor and Syrian peninsula, its supporters will be disappointed. With cargo steamers running at fifteen to twenty knots an hour—and we have already arrived at that—little more time will be expended in the voyage by the Red Sea and the Canal than would be taken by trains, and the difference in freight occasioned by manutention would make that by land so much heavier that the railway would have little chance in competition.

If I may now hark back to my starting-point, I suggest that it is the physical conformation of the country which renders the construction of the Bagdad line comparatively easy. From Constantinople to

Ismidt the level is practically the same. It continues so to Ada Bazar. The ascent of the railway begins through the gorges of the River Kara Sou, beautiful perhaps as any in the Tyrol or Switzerland, and continues to Eski Scheir, or, if you like, to Kara Afum Hissar. Then comes a long stretch of plain, of about 700 miles, as far as the Taurus. The passes there and of the Amanus range I have mentioned. Then, below the ridge of my inverted dish, there are few difficulties to encounter.

I have said nothing about the other slopes to the sea of my inverted dish. One general feature is common to them. They are all, for Turkey, well-peopled, and nearly always by non-Turks. On the Black Sea you have in the east the Lazes, and at Trebizond, Samsoun, Ineboli, many Armenians and Greeks. The coast of the *Ægean* is and always has been very largely Greek. Smyrna even yet competes in the number of its Greek population with Athens. The fertile valleys of the rivers flowing into the *Ægean*, with the remains of ancient cities, Ephesus, Halicarnassus, or Bodrun, and other places, will occur to you from your recollection of *Magna Græcia*. The slope running down to the Levant in Cilicia recalls to me the country round the head of the Adriatic, each being formed by the detritus washed down from the mountains.

A few words must be said of Constantinople. Sir William Ramsay, in an address which he has sent me within the last few days, states that "Constantinople, beyond all imperial cities, has made history through its own natural situation and advantages. London has been made by the English people. It is not London that has made the English people. The United States has made New York and Chicago, but Constantinople itself has made an Empire." The statement is true, with certain modifications, which Sir William would at once admit. The great highway between the East and the West which, as we have seen, once went by various routes from Egypt to the Persian Gulf and to India, had become by the time of Justinian, say 555, diverted through the Bosphorus. But new land routes had been opened from Central Asia to the Black Sea, and with the increased security which the *Pax Romana* gave, the traffic from South Russia and from the Danubian countries largely increased its wealth. The unrivalled position of Constantinople made its growth inevitable. Villehardouin, describing it in 1204, arrives at the conclusion that its population is "ten times that of our Lord's city of Paris." So long as the roads existed, and the sea was free of pirates, the prosperity of Constantinople continued. With the coming of the Turks and other nomads the roads became unsafe, commerce decreased, and the country fell into poverty and decay. But even then, in the period between 1204 and the capture of Constantinople in 1453, there was a large trade through the Bosphorus. Readers of Colonel Yule's edition of

"Marco Polo" will be astonished to see how far-reaching was that trade. Dering's "*Histoire de Commerce*," with other special treatises on the subject, give remarkable statements as to the volume of such trade, and my own opinion coincides therefore with that of Sir William Ramsay that the geographical position of Constantinople made the city.

Will that advantageous position endure? Only partly. The introduction of steamships injured Constantinople as a centre for collection and distribution. Such centres no longer possess the importance of even fifty years ago. The modern tramp-steamer goes round to the various ports in the Black Sea and the Marmora and collects for herself, thereby saving the expense of manutention, which is often heavier than that of transport.

In like manner, steamships have already begun to fetch their cargoes from Batoum and other Black Sea ports, and pass through both Straits without stopping, except to obtain or produce their police permits.

In former times merchandise from Bulgaria had to be sent to Constantinople and there reshipped. Now that Bulgaria has a port—a very wretched one—on the *Ægean*, her exports will avoid that city.

But all deductions made, and admitting that neither she nor her former competitor, Venice, is ever likely to rival their ancient glory, nothing can prevent Constantinople, with her wonderful geographical position, from being an important commercial city. It is, as Sir William Ramsay says, largely the position which made Constantinople, not the people of the empire over which it ruled.

SIR WILLIAM M. RAMSAY said he would mention one or two examples of the general principles that Sir Edwin Pears had stated. In reference to the Bagdad Railway route, and that motor-car journey from Aleppo to Bagdad of which they had heard, he would like to tell them that three years ago, at Pera, he happened to be talking to the Jewish gentleman who represented Bagdad in the Turkish Parliament. This Deputy said he was about to return to Bagdad, and when asked what route he would take he said: "I shall go via Bombay, as that is the easiest and most comfortable, and even the shortest, route I can take."

For the last thirty-five years—in fact, ever since he began to travel in Asia Minor—he had been greatly interested in the isolation of communities which seem to be the scattered fragments of various races. His wife and he had often noticed places in which the people had customs of their own, and they had taken note as far as they could of the influences which were most important in producing such isolation. Sir Edwin had mentioned geographical isolation rightly as the principal

cause, but there were other causes. He remembered once finding in a little village in a remote nook of the gorge of the Mæander a population of 400 or 500 people who were altogether out of communication with the rest of the world. They lived on a shelf of rock half-way down the side of the cañon, and they were evidently the remains of some ancient race. They were a small people, the men averaging from 5 feet to 5 feet 3 inches. They were extremely ugly, although good-natured looking, but extremely inhospitable, probably owing to their dread of strangers. They spoke Turkish. He was not long in the village, as they showed no inclination to value his company as highly as he valued it himself. There were a large number of such cases in different localities throughout Asia Minor. The people thus isolated were usually Mohammedans, but generally regarded as heretical, and despised accordingly. They were usually called Shiya, but sometimes there was nothing to indicate what was their special class or type of heresy. The separation produced by geographical situation forbids intermarriage; but sometimes the isolation is not geographical. One finds in a small plain three different villages within a mile of each other, but all of them absolutely isolated by custom and never intermarrying. They each have different social customs. They are all apparently Moslem, and all speak Turkish. Whether they have a private home language is uncertain, but in the central plateau only the Kurds are known to be bilingual.

Coming to the question of climatic changes, Sir William Ramsay said that there could be no doubt that the supply of water in Asia Minor was very much more abundant in the time of the Roman Empire, and there was a much larger population than at the present day. He had noticed, especially in the Plain of Iconium, many water-courses which flowed in ancient times, through which little or no water ran to-day, and there were many evidences of dried-up springs. Probably the chief reason for the great dryness of the soil was that there was no engineering skill applied to storing the water which did fall. Much was done in that way during the Roman period and earlier. There was a considerable amount of precipitation at certain periods of the year, but this fall often did more harm than good, owing to its suddenness and volume. It was not exactly want of water from which the country suffered, but the absence of means of storing up and subsequently using it. A great deal might be done by irrigation and storage to make Anatolia as rich and as well populated in the future as it was in the time of Roman rule. A possible reason had been suggested for the isolation of villages to which he had referred—viz., the want of a sufficient water-supply; the villagers could not allow their numbers to outgrow that supply, and therefore they rigidly kept to themselves. He personally doubted whether this cause had exercised much influence.

With reference to the Haidar Pasha-Konia Railway and the first concession to Germany, which dated from about 1888, he remembered that General Von der Goltz said to a friend at the time: "We should never have succeeded in getting possession of that railway but for the energetic support of the British Ambassador." At that time it was the idea of both political parties in this country to secure the help of the Germans against the Russians by throwing German influence athwart the line by which it was understood that Russia was seeking to approach Constantinople. He mentioned this as an example of the difficulty of foreseeing the effect of any law or any political device. That action which was entered upon deliberately by the British Empire in 1888 under the guidance of one of the best interpreters and understanders of Near Eastern matters—the late Sir William White—had come to be deeply regretted by his successors within the period of a very few years.

Sir EDWIN PEARCE, in answer to questions, said he thought that Mr. Elsworth Huntington's theory as to the effect of deforestation upon the climate of Greece was carried somewhat too far. The discussion on the paper he communicated to the Royal Geographical Society showed the general impression to be that he had somewhat overstated his case. The building of the Bagdad Railway had not had the effect of bringing German colonists into Asia Minor. The very employes of the line were French and Italians, and it was evidently difficult to get Germans to fall in with colonization schemes. In reference to European Christian missions in Asia Minor, he repeated the opinion he had often uttered that, no matter by what denomination they were run, they were centres of light and civilization.

Colonel C. E. YATE, M.P., said he had been specially interested in the story of the Jewish Deputy who preferred to travel back to Bagdad from Constantinople by way of Bombay. He would like to support the view of the lecturer that the sea route must hold its own for through traffic. He remembered having a conversation many years ago with a famous Russian General, a Governor-General in Central Asia, who was trying to persuade him of the advantage of linking up the Russian and Indian railway systems. He replied: "It's no good building a railway unless it will pay; and where is the traffic to come from to make it pay?" The Russian General answered that it would certainly pay, and when asked to give details of the merchandise the line would take from India, he began by mentioning rice from Burma. He (Colonel Yate) pointed out that this would involve shipment from Rangoon to Calcutta, and then a journey right across India and Afghanistan, and another handling across the Caspian Sea before entering Southern Russia even. And so with other commodities. He showed that the raw produce of India did not require rapid transport, and the trade would inevitably take the cheapest and most

convenient route, even though the sea journey might be a little longer. The General's list of products India would take from Russia had to be similarly whittled down, and on examination nothing remained but *asafetida*, and, as he told the General, one train a year would be sufficient to carry that. His Russian friend then said: "Well, after all, it's not really a question of making the railway pay; it's a question of promoting friendship between the Russian and British Governments." He replied: "Then, did you build the Merv-Kushk Railway for that purpose?" They both laughed, and the General said: "No; we built the Merv-Kushk Railway to defend our interests in Constantinople and China." That was many years ago; but he was still of opinion that a through railway would not carry much of India's heavy grain and such like traffic. As to passenger traffic, he knew something of the long journey by land, for in the old days, when serving with Sir Mortimer Durand in Persia, he had gone from Persia overland through Russia to England, and he was sure the passenger to India would prefer a good P. and O. steamer to the long and exhausting, hot, dusty, and rattling railway journey which the proposed through connection would provide. He entirely supported the view of the lecturer that for traffic with England no railway route from India could possibly hold its own against the sea journey.

The CHAIRMAN said he entirely agreed with the lecturer and Colonel Yate on the question of sea traffic holding its own against the through railway traffic. He had never been able to understand how, even in the old days, when they were limited to small sailing ships for sea traffic, those ancient trade routes across the desert were so profitable.

With reference to Sir Edwin Pears' allusion to missionaries in foreign countries, he would like to tell of his own experience. Views as to religious proselytism might differ. That was another question. But undoubtedly the mission-stations had been of great value in the way of which Sir Edwin had spoken, not only in Turkey, but in various parts of the world. He would only like to say one thing: It was extremely important that the societies concerned should take great care in selecting the men they sent out to the mission-field. Quality, and not quantity, was the essential thing. He had known one or two instances in which unsuitable men had done much harm. Happily, he knew many in which the workers had done much good. When he was in Teheran the American Presbyterian missionaries there gave him the greatest possible help in every way. They were judicious, devoted, quiet people, and they managed to ingratiate themselves with the Persians to a remarkable extent. One of them, not many years ago, when travelling in Khorasan, had been welcomed by the Mohammedan priests, and even invited to deliver an address to the people assembled

in a famous mosque. That was an extraordinary proof of what could be done by a judicious missionary. He told the story in America on one occasion to a large gathering of students, 5,000 or 6,000 of them brought together from all the Universities of the United States and Canada, some of whom were contemplating going out as missionaries. As he finished, the very man of whom he was speaking walked up on the platform and had a tremendous reception. So he would say to those interested in the missionary cause that they needed to choose carefully the men they sent out.

He concluded by conveying the thanks of the Society to Sir Edwin Pears for his instructive lecture.

IMPRESSIONS OF SEVEN RIVERS LAND AND RUSSIAN CENTRAL ASIA

COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND presided at a meeting of the Society on April 13, 1915, when Mr. Stephen Graham gave an extemporaneous lecture on this subject.

The CHAIRMAN said that there was no need to introduce Mr. Stephen Graham, as his name during the last year or two had become familiar to them all from his articles in the newspapers and from his books on Russia. But the Society was particularly glad to welcome him, because he had taken the trouble, not only to travel very extensively over Russia, including Russian Central Asia, but he had also lived the life of the people, and had entered into their thoughts and feelings.

Mr. GRAHAM said: It is with great pleasure that I give you my impressions of a country through which I travelled last summer. I feel that I can only give my personal impressions, because probably many of you know a great deal more about Russian Central Asia and the Seven Rivers Land than I do. I simply made my journey through the country, and brought to the study of it my previous knowledge of Russia and my interest in the progress of Russian colonization.

It was just about this time last year when the thought occurred to me that I would cross the Caspian from Baku to Krasnovodsk, and go along the roads of Russian Central Asia, along the Russo-Chinese frontier towards Siberia, proceeding always in a north-easterly direction. I set out on April 30. The first part of the journey was through country that might be visited by any tourist. There is a very good steamer which takes you across the Caspian Sea, and on the other side a first-class train in which you may travel many hundreds of miles with complete comfort. You can travel very easily, and you may see about you all the time the characteristic sights of the East, and the wonderful variety of peoples and tribes who inhabit this district north of Persia and west of Afghanistan. It is an extraordinary change to pass from the green uplands of the Caucasus to the yellow desert of Transcaspia. You cross the sea, which is a pleasant blue sea without much storm or stress about it. When you come to the other side bare rocks surround you, and a desert with no herbage, save for the few green shoots here and there which come out of the yellow sand, and you have a strange feeling of paradox that sand should produce even these. There are a few scattered Russian houses at Krasnovodsk, and you

find the people living in them are considerably bored with their existence, and long to get back to their homes in European Russia. When you leave the boat gendarmerie have their eyes on the passengers, to check whether they are foreigners or no. If they are French or English their passports have to be taken and verified, because it is impossible to travel in the country without special permission.

From Krasnovodsk I went by train to Bokhara and Tashkent. These are wonderfully effective in preserving from the Middle Ages something of the atmosphere of the old Mahommedan world, something quite untouched by Western civilization, and quite different from the Mahommedan cities which English, American, and French tourists are wont to visit. It struck me that Bokhara was much more wonderful than Jerusalem—that is, by virtue of its Eastern life; for it seemed to me much more untouched, much more remote. There was a peace about it all, and I had the feeling that it could easily go on for another 500 or 1,000 years without being very much touched. There are very few Russian houses within the old walled city. As you know, the Russians have built their city, which they call New Bokhara, a few miles distant, and for officials who are obliged to visit the ancient city there is a Government hotel just outside the walls. It is a really wonderful walled city, with its many gates and the continual flow of traffic in and out—men on camels, and vehicles of the most various kind, muddy proletkas, women on asses, in their charchaffs and high-wheeled carts. There is an extraordinary amount of colour moving within the walls, and an extraordinary number of bazaars—as many as 50,000 they say—in the city, and all varieties of Eastern wares exhibited for sale. The city was teeming with people, and I have never seen so many races as I saw thus meeting along the northern boundaries of Persia—from Samarcand, Askabad, Merv—at Bokhara. The people impressed me as the most playful in the world—drinking their tea and selling their wares. Everything is a game to them. It was the time of roses when I was there, and everybody seemed to take pleasure in wearing the flower.

From Bokhara I went to Tashkent, an extremely interesting city which presents some features of modern Russian life. The old city is melting away, but it nevertheless contains more than three times as many people as those of the Russian city. The latter now has a population of about 60,000, and the former one of about 180,000; and yet you know that it is this rectangular modern Russian city which counts, the city which is going on into the future, and will increase. It is the old city of the Mahommedans which necessarily must decrease, which slides away into more poverty and less prosperity. And yet the old city is still a commercial centre. Traders are there from England, France, and other countries, buying and selling, buying all manner of Eastern stuffs and haggling with the Sarts, who are making

bargains all day long and drinking tea in the wretched little tea-houses of this very insanitary but still beautiful old town. On all the roofs when I was there last spring there were red poppies growing. It was wonderful to see the mosques and other great buildings covered with poppies, and also many of the houses. Many of the mosques had storks' nests on their turrets, and it was very interesting to look up at these great tall nests and to see the storks silhouetted against the sky, and to hear the clattering of the bills of their young ones. Tashkent is a great military centre. There is a large military college where boys are given the ordinary education, but alongside with it a thoroughly military grounding. They consider themselves soldiers right through their scholastic career. The chief society of the town is that of the officers, their wives and families. They all say, however, that Tashkent is horribly dull. When you say, "But it is a splendid city, with fine shops," they answer sarcastically, "Do you think it is a fine city? Do you think there are fine shops?" because their thoughts are ever turned to Moscow or Petrograd.

From Tashkent I took train to Kabul-Sai, a little station to the north, and then set out on my vagabond life along the highroad leading to the Chinese frontier. It was an interesting venture for me, as I did not know what I might expect—whether I should find hospitality or food, and whether I should find the sun too hot for me. As a matter of fact, the heat was rather more than I had expected, or cared for. I have never experienced such heat as I did on this long treeless road. It is a very interesting country nevertheless. On the maps, even on those of a very small scale, you come across a number of places with Eastern names; but in these days you see little of the distinctively Eastern villages and towns for which they once stood. Every few miles there is a Russian village with a Russian name, recalling the names of Russia in Europe. The maps of the future will have to be altered, for there are many places marked on them which are nothing but ruins, and they have been replaced by Russian villages running the whole way from the railway terminus to the frontiers of China. You are never more than twenty-five miles away from a Russian village at any point on that long road, and they are all named after villages in Russia in Europe, just as when you go to Canada or Australia you find that our settlers have called their towns and villages by the old names—London, or Newcastle, or York, or Chepstow. Every twenty miles or so on the average you come on a considerable Russian settlement. But there is this difference between the villages in Central Asia and those in Russia: The latter, especially in North-West Russia, are generally made from clearings in vast forests, and the country between one village and another is wooded. Along the great Central Asian road, on the contrary, there are no trees whatever, and when you come to a village your eye rests with delight on the little oasis of trees by

which it is surrounded. The first thing which the Russians do when they settle on a plot of land designated by the Government is to plant trees along the canals of the irrigation system, chiefly poplar-trees, and after a few years these poplars provide a certain amount of shade. It is somewhat pathetic to see the trees within the first two or three years of the making of the settlement. They are then able to afford no shade; but the children play round them with great delight, and take small branches into the houses for decoration and for amusement at home. But in the older villages (and many of them have been in existence thirty or forty years) you have a fine growth of trees giving shade to man and cattle. This helps to make the Russian village of Central Asia very much what it is at home, except that as a rule the walls of the houses are made of mud rather than of pine logs. The roof inside is much the same, and so are the appointments. These are the plain table, the few seats, the form going along the side of the wall, the ikon corner with an ikon in it, the portrait of the Czar on one wall, the oven for baking bread and for sleeping on occasion; and there is the same large number of children in single cotton garments running all over the place. But there is withal a certain air of prosperity, especially in the larger villages. You do not observe the pinch of poverty which you know to be existent in some of the villages of Central Russia, mostly those which are owned and under large landowners.

One great reason why the peasants go forth to colonize Russian Central Asia lies in the fact that conditions are so bad in Central Russia. There is plenty of land there to support twice the number of people at present maintained by agriculture, but it has not been developed, and the Imperial policy is directed rather to spreading the population over the vast territories brought under the dominion of the Czar, and to give each family an individual grant of land in a distant place, than to directly encourage intensive cultivation of the soil in the parts nearer home. The Government says it does not encourage migration to these parts, and yet it takes a great deal of care of the people on the road, and there are a great number of officials engaged in superintending the colonization. Many engineers are employed all the year round on the work of water storage and irrigation. These irrigation engineers are always at work opening up new neighbourhoods, building new villages, and sending home reports on new places for settlement, and there are a great number of buildings put up by the Government for the settlers. Much information is published in European Russia as regards the state of the land and the areas available for occupation, and the grants which Government will give to those who are thinking of taking them up. Also there are tables of rates for the carrying of all the settlers' goods to those distant places. All the time on the road I saw processions of humanity out of

Central Russia ever travelling eastwards, with the idea that somewhere out there there was a sort of El Dorado, a place where wonderful harvests are produced, where it is scarcely necessary to work at all, and where wealth flows into you while you are asleep.

Wherever they go there is a certain feeling of discontent because their dreams are not realized. Everywhere there is a certain restlessness. On the road I found many pioneers who had come from settlements farther west in Central Asia, and they were going farther east in quest of the Happy Valley. They had not got what they wanted and expected, and they had given up their earlier homesteads in further search of the elusive quest. There was a considerable amount of complaint among the Government officials as to the restlessness of the people; but the Russians have a fondness for wandering in the blood. I don't think the successive migrations should be put down to ordinary restlessness and discontent with their conditions altogether, for allowance must be made for this wandering spirit. Moreover, they are surrounded by a wandering people—the Kirghiz. The probable number of these wandering tribesmen in Russian Central Asia is at least 3,000,000. The Russian Government likes to fix to settled life the people owning its sway. The officials like a man to carry with him a passport indicating his name and station and the village to which he belongs, and to keep him settled there. But the Kirghiz are unfixed. To-day a tribesman is on one side of a mountain, and to-morrow he is on the other, and there is no particular road from the former place to get to him. There is an extraordinary official desire to fix his status, to endeavour to tie him down, to say that he must wander within a certain district only, and to give him a territorial identification. Evidently they hope to bring the Kirghiz in as Cosacks; but at present they are extremely peaceful people, though formerly hardy warriors. I suppose that nowhere in the world would you find more peaceful and simple people. I went this long journey of something like 1,800 miles on foot, and I was never attacked. I never found myself in any unpleasant predicament at the hands of these tribesmen. Mahomedan tribes as a rule are extremely warlike. They are inclined to fall upon people on the roads, especially in the Caucasus and in Turkey in Asia. They are very hospitable to the stranger; but directly your back is turned and you have left their hospitable roof they are ready to steal out and capture you and rob you. But there is nothing of that about the Kirghiz, the principal inhabitants of the country through which I passed, and nothing could be more peaceful than the conditions prevailing on the road to the Chinese frontier. You feel that the people are more Christian than the Christians. I remember at a post-house Chinese travellers came in who had come from Pekin, and were on their way to a station of the Trans-Siberian Railway. The Russians do not like the Chinese, but they would

immediately efface themselves for the comfort of the new-comers. They gave up their places in the post-house, saying that they slept with the horses, and were not worthy to sleep indoors. I often saw this done, and the Russians in making way for others would wash up the dishes after them and scrub the floor of the post-house before they went away. They have quite a civic conscience, although many of them come from remote and sparsely populated places.

The Russian authorities, you will see, have no particular problem in dealing with the natives of those regions. The only problem is that of the nomadic habit of the Kirghiz. For my own part, I think they will probably do better to be at peace with the Kirghiz, and tolerate their wandering habits, instead of trying to fix them down to certain areas. Already some of the Kirghiz have passed over the frontier and have settled in Mongolia. Many Government officials out there are of opinion that the Kirghiz ought all to go into Mongolia; that they are not suited to the Russian Empire. The other half of the officials like the Kirghiz, and think them better than the settlers. These matters are a continual topic of conversation in the post-houses, on the roads, in the market-places, and in drives in carts along the roads.

I had many opportunities of conversation with all kinds of people. My first 300 miles from the railway terminus I walked the whole way; the second 300 miles I travelled in carts, sometimes in those of the settlers, sometimes in those of Government officials, and sometimes in trading carts, while on one occasion I was in a lorry filled with soldiers on their way to Vyernyi. It was a very interesting progress, farther and ever farther away from Europe. But I was struck with the fact that all the time, although there were Asiatic bands, although there were Kirghiz on every hand, there was a feeling throughout that it was Europe and not Asia in which I was travelling. Wherever the Russian goes he imports the feeling that he is claiming something more for Europe. You cannot divide the country up, and say here Europe ends and Asia begins, for wherever the Russian goes he carries his culture, his standard of life, his ideas, and his habits. The Russian lives in these remote places with his back to China, India, and Afghanistan, and with his face toward Moscow, Petrograd, or Kiev. They eagerly receive the well-known Russian newspapers, and though they may be ten days or a fortnight old, they read them as fresh news. In the depth of winter these papers may be even as much as a month old, but I think that now the war is in progress local sheets are receiving telegrams for publication. There must be such extraordinary interest in the doings of the armies that they cannot wait so many days for the latest intelligence. You have to remember that throughout Russian Central Asia the colonists are expected to consider themselves military people. It is impossible to obtain land there if you have qualms of conscience about military service. No Tolstoians or other pacificists

are allowed to settle out there, as they object to military service. It is one of the conditions of receiving land from the Government that you have no conscientious scruples about bearing arms for your Czar and country. These colonies thus help to counterbalance Siberia, which tends to be Radical and Positivist. Siberia has been the sink of the greater quantity of the revolutionary spirit of Russia for many decades, and I believe there is a feeling there of independence, and a stubborn determination to preserve liberty of conscience. It would be impossible to make such a proviso in respect to grants of land in Siberia. The Empire has in Russian Central Asia an extremely loyal and vigorous population. There are a great number of Cossacks settled there, especially in the Seven Rivers Land.

The Seven Rivers Land, I ought to explain to you, is the eastern portion of Russian Central Asia, extending right up to the frontier of China on the east and to the frontier of Siberia on the north. It is named after seven small rivers. The greatest of these is nothing like so fine a stream as the Thames. For the most part it is desert country; but it is capable of irrigation, and in the future probably will hold a great number of peasant Russians, and will produce an extraordinary amount of grain, especially in the northern portions and on the Mongolian frontier. The war will probably have the effect of something of a set-back in Russian Central Asia. Such a territory so undeveloped is necessarily in need of capital and in need of more settlers. But Russia is now necessarily looking westward and southward instead of eastward. The Imperial interest is toward Constantinople, and the ordinary Government interest is toward Poland, German Poland, and Austrian Poland. So Russian Central Asia is likely to have the cold shoulder as a result of the war. The war had the effect of withdrawing from the province on active service and for other purposes the more influential people, together with much of its most vigorous manhood, because it is a population which is predominantly military. Directly the war broke out all the roads were blocked with horses carrying back to Russia officers of all kinds, military doctors, and engineers and others, expecting to find new scope for their energies on the battlefield.

After the war it will take some time for Central Asia to come into prominence again, and its future will largely turn on the nature of the settlement in relation to Russian ideas and sentiments. There will be a centre of gravity for Russian policy. You must remember that Russia has always developed in a certain direction at a given time, always in one direction or another. A few years ago she was developing towards the Far East; before the war she was developing toward Persia, and it was possible to notice a development towards Mongolia, a great movement for the capture of Mongolian trade. Now I suppose there will necessarily be development toward Armenia and the south.

The future of Russia is a subject of profound interest, and I think, from our point of view as an Imperial nation, the Russian Empire in all its parts is worthy of study. It is necessary for us to get a clear view of this vast territory under the dominion of the Czar. There are altogether some 175,000,000 people in the Russian Empire, and I suppose that in about fifty years we may expect to see double that population. The Russians are very prolific, and the death-rate tends steadily to decrease, especially so in respect to infantile mortality. Russia is going to be an enormous white Power. Our own British Empire, of course, includes vastly more people; but in the Russian Empire already there are more white people than there are in the British Empire. That is a fact well worthy of our attention. Russia has enormous cultivable areas awaiting development in Central Asia, and when she has got her railways to them she will be in a position to add greatly to the food-supplies of the world. A most important railway project which was in progress at the beginning of the war was a line extending all the way from Tashkent to Vyernyi and to Kulja on the Chinese frontier, and from thence proceeding north through Semirychensk to Semipalatinsk, and joining the Trans-Siberian Railway at Omsk. This extraordinarily ambitious project was in course of accomplishment. The whole scheme has been passed by the Government, and contracts were being given out when the war began. The people employed on the construction are chiefly Kirghiz, and as they are not available for military service the work may go on to some extent. It is a rule of Russian conquest that a native population should be exempt from the obligation to serve for fifty years after the acquisition of the territory. That time will soon come to a close in the case of the Kirghiz; but they are exempt at present, and the contractors are able to employ them. So it is probable that all the time we are fighting here Russia is going on with a railway which will join Europe with Mongolia, and will bring Russia a great deal of Chinese produce, and give the Empire a new consciousness of power. It will begin to feel that its brain can operate on its distant limbs and move them to its will. These distant parts and the centre will be able to think together, to act together, and feel together. The railway will work out the essential idea toward which the Government have been working for so long, and its fulfilment will be extremely interesting to the world. When the war is over we shall be entering upon a new world in which these considerations will be of great importance; and I hope that in preparation for this we shall have learnt from our study of Russian Central Asia much of the future of the Russian Empire as a whole.

The CHAIRMAN: One of the objects with which this Society was originally founded was to study the progress of Russia in Central Asia.

At that time we and the Russians were rivals, and the Russians were suspected of making it their aim to come down toward India. I was for many years employed on the Indian frontier, and in the countries between India and Russian Central Asia. I frequently came across Russian officers there, and they invariably spoke of a coming day for the invasion of India. There have been great changes since those days. Our lecturer has given us an account of the feelings of the Russians and of their inner motives; and I think that as a Society we are very greatly indebted to him for giving us this information so recent and at first hand. I entirely agree with him as to the great future which lies before the Russian Empire. It is very obvious that people numbering so many millions and inspired by such high ideals as I believe the Russians are inspired by, should in the course of this present century grow to one of the mightiest people that have ever been.

I never had the pleasure of visiting Bokhara, but I have seen many Central Asian cities very much like it, including Kashgar and other towns in Eastern Turkestan, and nothing more peaceful could possibly be imagined. Like Kashgar, those cities seem to be in the same state as they were a thousand years ago, and if the Russians do not get down there we may expect that they will be in exactly the same state a thousand years hence. But one of the most interesting points in the lecture was what Mr. Graham said in regard to the restlessness of the Russians. There seems to be something of the wandering spirit inherent in their blood. I do not think that they are exactly an adventurous people in the sense that we are. I have been very much struck by the comparative absence of Russian explorers. Russians do not seem to have the same anxiety as we do to go and explore outside their own country. But apparently inside the Czar's dominions they have this restless, wandering feeling stimulated by the desire for wealth. I believe that really at the bottom of the Russian desire some years back to get into Tibet was the belief that there at last they would reach an El Dorado. A great Russian explorer always wrote of Tibet as full of gold; indeed, in conversation with the Czar, he used the exact expression of the lecturer, and spoke of Tibet as an El Dorado after returning from one of his journeys there. The Russians got it into their heads that it was a land of such wealth, that if only they could get there their fortunes would be made.

I should like to have heard a little more from Mr. Graham in regard to the Chinese and the Russians. Do the settlers from Central Russia get on well with the Chinese? I believe there is a certain amount of immigration from China into those regions of Asiatic Russia, and we know that the Chinese are more industrious and not less intelligent settlers than the Russians. I think that in future years this contact between the two types of civilization may constitute

a serious problem. The Russians will not be able to stay the influx of Chinese, which is almost certain to come upon them in their Asiatic possessions.

I have known the Kirghiz personally, having dwelt amongst them and lived in their tents like Mr. Graham. I quite agree with him as to their peaceful nature. They have not got the warlike spirit which is generally associated with Mahommedans. They are, for instance, very different from the ordinary tribes of the Indian frontier. But they are an agreeable people, and certainly a very pleasant people amongst whom to live. They wander about unceasingly, and many of them cross the frontier from Russia to China and from China into Russia. One of the problems I had to deal with when I was on a mission to the Pamirs about twenty years ago was to find out what allegiance the Kirghiz owned there. I ascertained that, as a matter of fact, they owned all kinds of allegiance. They owned it to the Chinese, the Russians, and the Afghans, and they also paid a kind of blackmail to some of our frontier tribes. So it was quite impossible to say to what country they really belonged.

Mr. E. R. P. Moon said that many years ago he crossed the Caucasus and the Caspian to travel in the regions the lecturer had described, but was forbidden to proceed beyond Vsun Ada, and had to proceed home by way of Astrakhan and the Volga; but subsequently, in 1898, he went through Siberia. He never succeeded in going between those points and finding what kind of country Russian Central Asia was. He gathered from Mr. Graham that it was mostly sand, but being transformed by colonization at widely separated village settlements into agricultural country. He presumed, however, that there had always been some kind of grass, for otherwise the three million Kirghiz of whom they had heard could not have kept their sheep and goats. No doubt their wanderings were largely dictated by the necessity for finding fresh herbage. He wished to know whether the country was of the kind they had in Queensland, so far as concerned a large supply of underground water, and whether the irrigation, which he believed Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff was employed by a former Czar to set on foot, included not only canals but also artesian wells. He believed that in Queensland the wells had to be bored to a depth of 2,500 feet or more.

In travelling along the Grand Trunk Siberian road, before the railway was completed, he was very much interested to notice the way in which the lower-class Russians walked arm-in-arm in the most friendly way with Chinese, not Buriats but pure Chinese. He remembered that his ship steward on the shilka was a Chinese, and they were used for all sorts of work. He would like to know whether similar conditions were likely to develop in Russian Central Asia. He also wished to put a question as to the Mahommedans. They all

knew Mr. Graham had interested himself in the religious aspirations of the Russian peasants. It had been recently stated that the Orthodox Church had established a very active Christian propaganda amongst the Mahommedan subjects of the Czar. He gathered that the relations between the different races in Russian Central Asia were quite friendly, and he supposed that this would lead to a mixture of races. Perhaps Mr. Graham could tell them whether, so far as that mixture had taken place, the results were favourable, or whether they were those which applied to most hybrid races, that the offspring combined the worst qualities of both races.

Dr. GASTER asked whether there was any fusion of race as between the original Russian settlers and the Chinese; and also whether the Kirghiz were not largely influenced by Buddhist thought, and thus moulded into a peaceful disposition.

Mr. YUSUF ALI said that what interested him chiefly in the lecture was the material it provided for a comparison of the present Mahommedan population of those parts *vis-à-vis* of the Moslems of British India. His own acquaintance with Central Asia was purely literary. He had read a good deal of medieval Moslem literature, and it was well known that some of the greatest classics of Mahommedan times were written by men who belonged to Central Asia. Bokhara and Samarcand were proverbial not only as seats of Mahommedan learning, but also of social and cultural systems which were somewhat different from those of other parts of the Islamic world. It would be interesting to know what the Mahommedans of Central Asia exactly thought of modern problems. In India and in Egypt Mahommedans were frequently giving their ideas to the world as to the position of their Faith, and on the various theological problems which had from time to time sharply divided its followers. There were many books published on such questions, mainly in Arabic in Egypt, and in Urdu or English in India; they heard about similar movements of thought in Persia, and also in other parts of Africa. But it seemed to him rather curious that these people of Central Asia, who at one time were famous for theological argument and for Islamic literature, were now almost entirely silent; that Mahommedan literature should get no clue to their sentiments; that the problems of the Mahommedan world at the present day should have no contributions made to them from these ancient centres of learning. In that connection he would also like to ask about the state of the great libraries which were known to exist in the old days in connection with the great Universities in Bokhara and Samarcand. Although those centres of learning seemed to have fallen on evil times, it was possible that some of those libraries, or at any rate portions of them, still existed, and the question of their condition was one of intense interest to students of Mahommedan literature. Did the Russian Government give any grants to those libraries, or take

any steps to preserve and guard ancient manuscripts there? In short, were there any records in those ancient cities which would throw light on the evolution of Islamic culture in those parts? Also, what was the position as regards modern education in these Central Asian Mahommedan communities?

Mr. GRAHAM, replying to the various questions put, said that as to pasturage it must be remembered that there was a great quantity of mountain land and moorland, as well as wide stretches of desert, in Russian Central Asia. He believed that in the desert itself there were patches of grass in the winter. But with the progress of the summer they dried up, and then the Kirghiz moved higher up to find pasturage for his flocks on the mountains. All along the road he travelled there were heights in the distance, first the Alexander Mountains, and then the great ranges of the Tian Shan. Along the desert track one had to travel far to find forest or shrub. But the lower slopes of the mountains were wonderful for their flora. The Kirghiz knew the mountains thoroughly, and moved from place to place in them in the search for pasture-land.

As regards irrigation, the soil was particularly suited for it. The sand of the desert was a sort of volcanic dust which had settled out of the atmosphere for thousands and thousands of years, and when water went through it it became extraordinarily fertile. He scarcely came across a well in the whole of Russian Central Asia. The settlers did not seem to understand the sinking of wells, and they used the water of the irrigation canals for most of their domestic purposes. They grew a considerable amount of corn on the irrigated tracts and wherever there was a stream of water. After the main canal had been dug, many small waterways were constructed, and from them the water was skilfully supplied to the field irrigation channels. The unfortunate thing about Russian Central Asia was that there were very few rivers, and hence the main supply for the canals was rather a small supply.

As regards the Chinese going into Russian Central Asia, he did not himself remark many Chinese as settlers, or even as labourers there. Nor did the Russians go much into China, and even Mongolia was extremely empty. It was said that in the Southern Siberian and Northern Mongolian territory there were vast areas of virgin soil, of black earth, sufficient to feed the whole population of the world if it were properly cultivated. It had not yet been touched, and it remained as something in reserve for meeting the future needs of the whole human race. The Chinese he met on his travels were almost exclusively men from distant places on the road to Peking, or travelling showmen or jugglers going from village to village, having their little circus, and collecting as much as £5 or £6 as the profits of an evening show.

As to efforts on the part of the Orthodox Church to proselytize the Mahommedans, he did not think there was very much going on in this way. The Russian authorities were not inclined to encourage proselytism, especially among the Mahommedan tribesmen. He thought that such a thing as a Christian Kirghiz was not to be found. On the other hand, they were not strict followers of the Prophet, for they were a very illiterate people. They were extremely incorrect in their observances of many Islamic practices, and some they did not observe at all. Very few of them could read the Koran or anything else. They must have lived their nomadic life in exactly the same way for a thousand years past, and their ideas were very limited. If anything beyond the simplest remark was made to a Kirghiz, he smiled in a blank, vacant way which made you know that the observation had not reached him. It was just as if you went out to speak to the moon, and the moon smiled at you; you would know that the moon had not cognizance of the interesting fact you tried to communicate.

Bokhara was a great place of Mahommedan culture. Its pride and preoccupation was scholarship. There were in it an enormous number of what the Russians called "bookmen"—scribes, people whose entire occupation it was to read the Koran and interpret it. There were many printing-presses in the city, and the Koran was largely printed in Sartish for the use of the Tartar tribesmen. He remembered that in the train to Bokhara there were two young Mahommedans, and for hours on end one read to the other from the Koran. The most extraordinary thing was the excitement evoked by some passages in the reading, giving one an idea it was something like Homer's "Iliad" heard for the first time. To his remarks they paid no attention whatever. They went through all the observances of their religion in the railway carriage, saying their prayers with great solemnity and seriousness. He thought there was a real and growing and unspoilt Mahommedan life in Bokhara. Tashkent, on the other hand, was a commercial city where the Mahommedans did not, as a rule, live a very religious life, where they lived like Tartars. But in Bokhara religion transcended all. Everything else was a game, something to be regarded as festive. They were settling their business and drinking their tea, and taking serious note of nothing. And as the slow, lumbering vehicles passed by, a handsome young Russian came on his bicycle over the cobbles and quickly passed them. The tea-drinking groups looked at him as an object of idle amusement. There was not any tendency to think, even on the part of the young men, "That man can ride quickly along on a pair of wheels. Why should not I do the same?" He thought that sort of feeling would never be evoked in Bokhara until some great psychological revolution took place amongst its people. The Kirghiz were similarly impervious to modern ideas; but in their stories and folk-lore they had a literature

which was oral. At Tashkent he was at a Staff College performance, but he found more interest in the words than in the music, for they were full of allusions to the old stories of the Kirghiz. He thought that if some Oriental scholars would collect the lore of the Kirghiz they would find a great many philosophic arguments of much interest, and many proverbial sayings and stories which deserved to be known to the world. It was the mould of a pastoral sort of culture worthy of attention. Their language was simple and easy, and the Russians learnt it very quickly. Many of the colonists, after only a few years' residence in Russian Central Asia, could speak it with great fluency, and, indeed, enjoyed doing so when they could get the Kirghiz to talk. But there was always a feeling amongst the colonists that the Kirghiz were no more than serfs and slaves. It was astonishing to see the Russian peasant, who had taken with him to those regions a long tradition of serfdom, sitting still and watching the Kirghiz build for him his house, paying for the labour at a very low rate, and watching them doing all sorts of heavy and menial work. The colonist already reckoned himself a baron and no longer a peasant, being subject to no authority except military authority, and he employed the Kirghiz to do the hard work of the farm.

The racial intermixture to which reference had been made was not at present a problem of serious importance in Russian Central Asia. The Russian kept extremely pure in the maintenance of race, and his determination to do so in Central Asia was very remarkable. You did not find Kirghiz or Russians intermarrying; nor was there much fusion of the sort between Kirghiz and Tartars. There were very few marital unions between Russians and Chinese. Indeed, resident Chinese were scarcely to be found. There were only travelling Chinese—the jugglers and performers to whom he had referred, and Chinese travelling back to China from other lands. They found it easier to go that way, through Russian Central Asia and Siberia, than to go through the heart of China itself, and it was probably safer and much cheaper.

SIR AUREL STEIN'S PRESENT EXPEDITION TO CENTRAL ASIA

SIR AUREL STEIN set out from Kashmir on his present expedition to Chinese Turkestan on August 2, 1913. Kashgar was successfully reached on September 21 after a toilsome journey over the Pamirs, in which fifteen passes had been crossed, varying in height from 10,000 to 17,400 feet, and a considerable area of entirely new mountain ground had been surveyed. At Kashgar the archæological journey proper began. Sir Aurel had planned to follow in the main the direction of his travels during 1906-1908—to Khotan (but this time by Maralbashi and Mazar Tagh), along the southern edge of the Taklamakan into Kansu, thence northwards to Turfan, and back to Kashgar by the south of the Tien Shan. It is possible here only to refer in the briefest way to one or two of the chief sites explored and a few of the chief archæological results attained. Geographical work of the greatest value and interest was carried on simultaneously almost all along the route, largely through the help of the experienced Indian surveyor, Rai Bahadur Lal Singh, who had accompanied him on the earlier expedition.

The first winter Sir Aurel had planned to spend in the waterless desert north and north-east of Lop-Nor, where work is only possible as long as a water-supply can be secured from the ice of the Tarim lagoons. Of his work on the way there there is only space to mention fresh finds at the Tibetan fort of Mazar Tagh, the recovery of interesting temple frescoes at Hsuen Tsang's Pi-Mo (Marco Polo's *Pein*), and the collection of a further large store of Kharoshthi wooden documents, household implements and carved wood, by extended digging at the third-century settlement of Niya. Here, too, a wonderful example of an ancient orchard was discovered—the vine trellises and rows of fruit-trees standing still intact, though dead since many centuries.

At Charklik, in January, a halt was made to gather together food and ice supplies, labour, and extra camel transport for the two and a half months' work in the Lop Desert. These preparations were made much more difficult by an outbreak of Chinese revolutionaries, who within three weeks had put to death two successive district magistrates. The outbreak was suppressed, and the chief rebels executed by Tungan troops from Karashahr; but the troops had drained to a great extent the food supplies of the neighbourhood, and in the absence of any resident civil authority to use its persuasive powers on his behalf, Sir Aurel found the task of collecting labourers no easy one.

When caravan arrangements, however, had been completed, he moved first to Miran, the "site of the earliest capital of the Kingdom of Loulan." Here, in bitterly cold winds, he succeeded in removing the temple frescoes, which he had been obliged to leave behind in 1907. These included the remaining arcs of the "angel" dado, a portion of which from the earlier expedition was exhibited last year in the new galleries of the British Museum, and all of the legendary Buddhist scenes on the wall above that were fit for transport. The whole series of these curiously interesting frescoes is therefore now in the possession of the British or the Indian Government.

But the next two months' work in the Lop Desert gave even newer and more instructive results. A considerable delta had watered the whole region in Han times, and many remains of ancient settlements were found. Among

these were two large forts, evidently occupied down to the fourth century, and rich in coins, wood carvings, household implements, personal ornaments, and records on wood and paper in Chinese, early Indian scripts, and early Sogdian; while trial excursions from the base camp of the earlier expedition revealed quite a series of small ruined sites to the north and north-east. Their position confirmed Sir Aurel's theories as to the probable line of the earliest Chinese route from westernmost Kansu to the Tarim basin; and the remains unearthed threw a flood of light not only on the life of the local population, but on the character and importance of the Chinese trade with Central Asia in the early centuries B.C. and A.D. The silk trade was illustrated by very beautiful and unique specimens of stuffs. Another link with China proper was discovered in a large fort, which from the similarity of its material and construction and the evidence of the Chinese records dug up in it, evidently belonged to the same date as the western stations of the Tunhuang frontier wall excavated in 1907.

From this point Sir Aurel continued his march east, tracing the line of the ancient route through the desert north of the dried-up lake bed of Lop to Kum-Kuduk. This ground was, even at the time of the Chinese expansion westwards in 120 B.C., an utterly lifeless wilderness, and no ruins existed to guide him on the way. The correctness of his conclusions as to its probable course was, however, proved by the coins and small metal objects picked up on each day's march along the way, and at one point even by some hundreds of early Chinese coins and unused bronze arrowheads which had evidently dropped unnoticed from some Han caravan. Beyond Kum-Kuduk the route was traced along the southern foot of the Kuruk Tagh to the western end of the Tunhuang frontier wall explored in 1907. Eastwards of this Sir Aurel was able to link up all gaps in his 1907 survey of the *Limes* as far as Tunhuang town, and to extend it beyond Anhsi and the southern bend of the Su-Lo-Ho River to Suchou, a distance of 250 miles in all. A profitable visit was also paid to the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas.

In May he set out again on a fresh line of investigation, following down the course of the rivers of Su-chou and Kanchou to the terminal delta of Etsingol in South Mongolia. This proved one of the most fascinating and successful enterprises of the whole expedition; for the living delta recalled to an extraordinary degree in its physical features the dead delta of Lop-Nor, suggesting an actual picture of the latter in its days of vegetation 1,700 years ago; and in the ruined town of Karakhoto Sir Aurel found proof that he was excavating Marco Polo's famed "City of Etsina."

After a hasty return to Kanchou in the beginning of July, Sir Aurel crossed the desert ranges of the Pei-Shan northwards by unexplored routes, accomplishing much important geographical work in spite of useless Chinese "guides" and an unfortunate accident which caused him serious inconvenience for some time, though it left no permanent injury. Thence by the north of the Tien Shan and Barkul he made his way by the end of October to the depression of Turfan. This site, though well known and comparatively easy of excavation, has not been exhausted by German, Russian, or Japanese expeditions, and after several months' hard work Sir Aurel succeeded in removing and packing many camel-loads of important frescoes. Supplementary excavations of a unique nature were carried out at Karakhoja and also yielded most interesting results.

Sir Aurel planned to reach Kashgar once more this last month of June, and hopes to return to England, after some months' continued exploration in the West, in the beginning of next year.

F. M. G. LORIMER.

NOTES AND NEWS

Exploration in Central Asia.—Mr. S. E. Maloff reached Kashgar on April 20 upon the completion of his third journey in High Asia. This last voyage was organized by the Comité des Études de l'Asie Centrale, which is a branch of the Russian Foreign Office.

M. Maloff is a specialist for Turki dialects, and studies their origins. He has visited almost the entire province, but has studied more especially in the Lob Nor and in Kansu. He has found a few fragments of ancient documents. In addition, he has studied the ethnography of the tribes, especially of the Uighurs, and has recorded more than a hundred songs on a phonograph. He has also collected clothes, implements, etc. M. Maloff is leaving for Russia, where he will write a work describing his labours. He has already published the results of his former journeys.

M. Nicholas Romanoff, the distinguished Russian archæologist, has also reached Kashgar after an extended journey, which has included Northern Persia, Russian Turkestan, and part of the New Province. He especially studies Moslem architecture and art in these countries, and has made many interesting discoveries. He has also collected specimens of the pottery, textiles, and wood-work.

Foreign-trained Students in China.—An important and interesting development has taken place in China under the special direction of the President. Those students who have been educated abroad, instead of being left to find their own way on their return, are now, after examination, to be drafted, with due regard to their learning, to the various services—school, railways, banks, hospitals, etc.—as well as to industrial, commercial, and agricultural employments.

Railways in China.—A railway is about to be constructed from Chinghsien to Dolonor.

It is expected that traffic will shortly be running on the Haichow-Lanchow railway on the new section from Kaifeng-fu to Hsuechow.

Mongolia.—A development in trade and commerce should accrue to Mongolia through the construction of several new railways from one of its chief towns, Taonanfu, which lies on the border of Eastern Mongolia and Western Manchuria. The city is also to have a foreign settlement, to be laid out to the south of the town.

The status of Outer Mongolia has been finally settled by a treaty, signed on June 7, between Russia, China, and Mongolia. China retains the nominal suzerainty, while both Russia and China agree not to interfere in the internal administration of the country.

NEW MEMBER.

Miss Nina Mylne has been elected a member of the Society.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

THE anniversary meeting of the Central Asian Society was held on July 7, Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband presiding.

The CHAIRMAN: Since our last annual meeting we have lost the original founder of this Society, Dr. Cotterell Tupp, and I am sure that on this occasion you would wish me to express our condolence with Mrs. Tupp for the loss which she and the Society have sustained. In the year 1900 Dr. Tupp, who had been for some time collecting a library of books on the study of Central Asian subjects, asked me to go and see him one afternoon. He said that since the year 1866, when he travelled in the Himalayas, he had been specially interested in Central Asian subjects. We talked over the question of forming a Society, and we secured the co-operation of General Sir Thomas Gordon and Colonel Algernon Durand, and eventually established the Society. I should like to say how much the Society is indebted to Dr. Tupp for the very great energy he showed on the inception of the Society and in its subsequent development.

During the present year we have had an unusually interesting series of papers bearing on the war, and they have attracted much attention. We have had good meetings and valuable papers, which is satisfactory when we consider the difficulties under which we have been working.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1914-15.

The Session of 1914-15 has seen no diminution in the interest taken in the papers read to the Society, and a very full attendance has been recorded. Nearly all the papers dealt with the influence, direct or indirect, of the war on different countries of the East.

The Autumn Session opened on November 11 with a paper by Colonel A. C. Yate on "The Great War and the Middle East." Colonel P. M. Sykes on December 9 gave an historical paper on "Tamerlane."

On January 20, 1915, Mr. Duncan Mackintosh spoke on "Some Past and Passing Features of the Situation in China." Mr. Charles Woods followed on February 17 with "The Near East and the War," and Sir Edwin Pears on March 17 on "Turkey, the War, and (Climatic) Influence in Asia Minor." On April 13 Mr. Stephen Graham gave the Society his "Impressions of Seven Rivers Land and Russian Central Asia." All these papers have already appeared, or are about to appear, in the JOURNAL, which has contained during the year, besides the lectures that have been delivered with the discussions that followed, several shorter but interesting miscellaneous articles dealing with politics, exploration, travel, finance, etc., in the Near and Far East.

The membership of the Society remains practically the same as last year. We have lost by death Mr. Henry Sandbach and Dr. Cotterell Tupp, one of the founders of the Society and one of its most interested supporters. He acted as Hon. Treasurer up to the time of his death. A full obituary appeared in the JOURNAL for 1915, p. 47.

The Society has also lost by resignation eight members—Mr. H. F. Amedroz, Mr. Lovat Fraser, Mr. G. R. Kennedy, Mr. W. H. Merk, Mr. J. T. Preece, Captain A. M. Scovell, Lieutenant G. T. Scovell, Colonel Swayne.

During the year eleven members have been elected—Mr. J. R. Baillie, Lieutenant G. C. Binstead, Mr. W. Crewdson, Lieutenant W. T. O. Crewdson, Mr. M. Ingram, Mr. W. J. C. Laurie, Colonel Maunsell, Mrs. McCoy, Mr. Alwyn Parker, Mr. A. Rose, Captain H. Tryon.

It is with regret we have to add the further loss during the last few months of Captain Binstead and Captain the Hon. G. W. Douglas-Pennant, both of whom have been killed in action.

The statement of accounts is appended.

The recommendation of the Council to fill vacancies on the Council for 1915-16 are as follows: Under Rule 12, the Chairman, the Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, retires. The Council recommend his re-election. Under Rule 23, Colonel Pemberton, Colonel Sir Henry Trotter, and Sir Walter Lawrence, retire from the Council. The Council recommend the election of Sir Hugh Barnes, Mr. T. J. Bennett, and Sir Henry Trotter.

The vacancy in the office of Hon. Treasurer, caused by the death of Dr. Cotterell Tupp, was filled up by the Council by the interim appointment of Sir Evan James. The Council now recommend his election as Hon. Treasurer.

Sir EVAN JAMES, in presenting the accounts, said they had been kindly audited by Sir Henry Trotter and Mr. Moon. They had drawn a little on their previous savings, owing to the extra charges for the Journal. Members had no doubt noticed the great improvement in the form of the Journal, but this meant more expense, and the Council had only that day been considering what could be done to bring the normal expenditure within the scale of the normal receipts. There were perhaps little items of expenditure which might be curtailed, and improvements ought to be made in the receipts by obtaining more members and more subscribers to the Journal. It was to be hoped that every member who could would try to induce friends to join. The papers next session would be very interesting, no doubt, in connection with the many problems raised by the war. They were all very much indebted to the Secretary, Miss Hughes, who had very carefully looked after their interests on both sides of the account.

The CHAIRMAN moved the re-election of the Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand as Chairman for the ensuing year, remarking that they were very fortunate to retain him in that position. The motion having been carried, he said that under Rule 23 Sir Walter Lawrence, Colonel Pemberton, and Sir Henry Trotter retired from the Council. Colonel Pemberton had informed them that as he was strenuously engaged in military duties he would be quite unable to come again to the Council. The Council recommended the re-election of Sir Henry Trotter and the appointment of Sir Hugh Barnes and Mr. T. J. Bennett, C.I.E., to fill the other vacancies.

The motion was carried, and on the proposition of the Chairman Sir Evan James was elected Hon. Treasurer.

Colonel Sir THOMAS HOLDICH, in moving the adoption of the report, said: It is a subject for congratulation that the Society has retained its membership in spite of the war, having as many on the rolls as last year. As this is not a large Society, we may fairly hope to keep the membership we have got. So far as the future of the Society is concerned, there is no means of saying what

its prospects may be ; they must be more or less on the knees of the gods. This is not the time when we can expect men who have been exploiting the remote regions we professionally deal with to leave more strenuous duties to give us their assistance. The war is having a great effect upon Central Asia as upon other parts of the world. The matter which perhaps concerns us most, and which we think most about in this connection, is the spread of the influence of Russia through regions which lie southward of her present borderland. Now I hope one result of the present war will be that the British public generally, and our politicians in particular, will acquire new views as to the policy and aspirations of Russia in Central Asia. For my own part I have never thought that the spread of Russian influence in those remote regions could ever in any way be a menace to us, nor could I ever see that it would do anything more than develop to the benefit of the countries concerned. Although we may not in the coming session get much light thrown on the Further East, we may be pretty certain that we shall get very interesting information about the Nearer East—Persia, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor—and we may hope that the information we shall get will be helpful in educating public opinion in England in the great problems which affect those regions and which have been raised by the war.

Sir FREDERIC FRYER seconded the report, and its adoption closed the proceedings.

T. H. H.

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY ACCOUNTS, 1914

RECEIPTS.				EXPENDITURE.			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
By subscriptions---				By rent	...	...	...
121 at £1 ...	121	0	0	By salary	...	...	...
4 at 16s.	8	4	0	Outstanding cheque from 1913 for one quarter extra salary	...	...	...
1 in advance	1	0	0				
1 in arrears	1	0	0	<i>Journal---</i>			
			126 4 0	Printing	...	...	...
By sales	...	...	8 14 0	Reporting	...	...	...
Miscellaneous	...	...	0 4 4				
Dinner	...	...	88 8 0	Miscellaneous printing, stationery, etc.	...	...	...
			163 5 4	Postage	...	...	...
Balance at bank, January 1, 1914	125	2	0	Petty cash, including teas, lantern, etc.	...	...	...
Balance, petty cash	2	10	7	Bank charges	...	...	...
			127 12 7	Dinner	...	...	...
				Balance at bank, December 31, 1914	...	...	...
				Balance, petty cash	...	...	...

We have examined, with the books and vouchers, the accounts of the Central Asian Society for the year ending December 31, 1914, and find them correct.

HENRY TROTTER (Lieut.-Colonel).
EDWD. R. P. MOON.

RECENT BOOKS ON THE EAST

Far East.

- THE SPIRIT OF JAPANESE ART. By Yone Noguchi. Small 8vo. 1915.
2s. net. (Murray).
- THE SECRET MEMOIRS OF COUNT HAYASHI. Edited by A. M. Pooley.
10s. 6d. net. (Nash.)
- JAPAN OUR ALLY. By W. Crewdson. Pamphlet, 8vo. 2d. (Macmillan.)
- JAPAN TO AMERICA. Edited by Naoichi Masaoka; issued under the
auspices of the Japan Society of America. 5s. net. (G. P. Putnam's
Sons, New York and London.)
- AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF CHINA. By H. G. Gowen. Two vols. (Werner
Laurie.)
- THE JUBILEE STORY OF THE CHINA INLAND MISSION. With portraits,
illustrations, and map. By Marshall Broomhall, M.A., Editorial
Secretary. 3s. 6d. net.; cheap edition, 2s. net. (London: Morgan
and Scott, Ltd.)
- FUR AND FEATHER IN NORTH CHINA. By Arthur de Clare Sowerby.
(Tientsin Press.)

Near East.

- THE WAR AND THE BALKANS. By Noel Buxton and Charles R. Buxton.
8vo. 2s. 6d. net. (Allen and Unwin.)

Central Asia.

- IN RUSSIAN TURKESTAN. By Annette M. B. Meakin. 8vo., illustrated.
3s. 6d. net. (Allen and Unwin.)

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 THE COLONIAL POLICY OF JAPAN IN KOREA. By F. A. McKenzie. 1906.
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 TRIBES ON THE FRONTIER OF BURMA. By Sir Frederic Fryer. 1907.
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 THE STRATEGIC POSITION OF RUSSIA IN CENTRAL ASIA. By D. Fraser. 1907.
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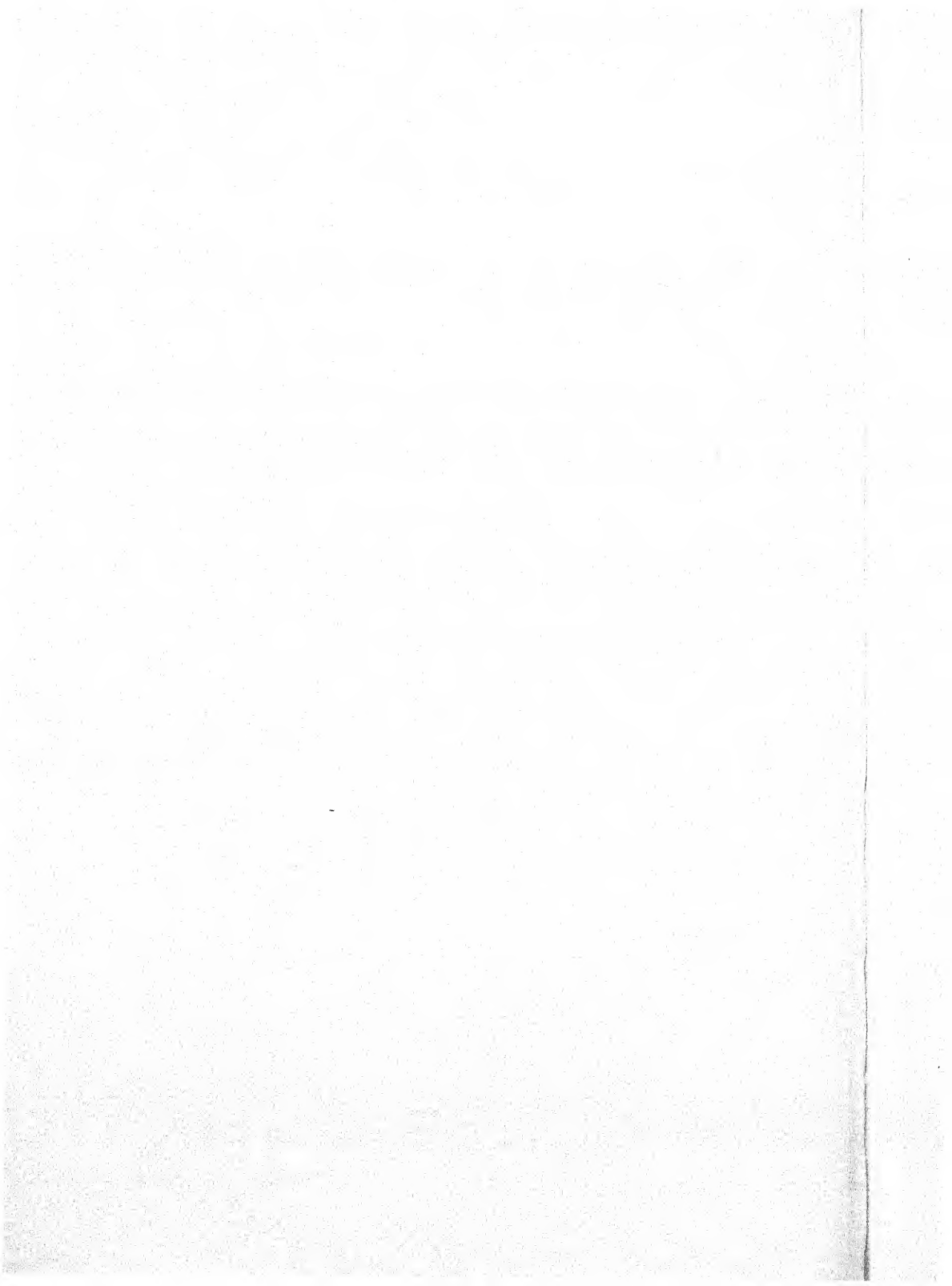
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VOLUME II., PART IV.

THE DARDANELLES CAMPAIGN. *By H. Charles Woods.*

THE DARDANELLES CAMPAIGN

[By H. CHARLES WOODS.

AT the first meeting of the Society for the 1915-16 session, on October 20, with Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich in the chair, Mr. H. Charles Woods read a paper, illustrated by photographic lantern views, on "The Dardanelles Campaign." In introducing him, the CHAIRMAN observed that he had travelled a good deal in the Balkans, and was a recognized authority thereon, and especially on the part of the country with which he was going to deal.

For centuries Constantinople, covering as it does the great land route from Europe to Asia, as well as the water highway between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, has been the object of many aspirations. From earliest times the reigning monarch in this city has been able to control these two great thoroughfares as a result of the fortifications constructed to protect his capital from attack by land and sea. In the past the defences of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus have not only safeguarded the position of the Turkish capital, but they have also protected the Sea of Marmora. Thus, so long as these two channels remain impregnable, the Ottoman Government can not only bring troops from Asia Minor and land them in Europe, but the Sultan or his allies can pour armies into Asia Minor, thence to send them by railway and by road to areas from which they can threaten the Egyptian frontier. Thus, for the last few decades, as also at the present time, the strength of the defences of Constantinople have been and are one of the most material factors in the whole Near Eastern question—a factor the influence of which has been enormously increased by the most recent and unfortunate developments in the Balkan Peninsula.

Before approaching a description of the Dardanelles, and before entering into a discussion of the nature of the campaign in progress there, I will briefly describe the land defences of the Turkish capital, and also the fortifications which defend it and the Bosphorus from an attack from the direction of the Black Sea.

Owing to its geographical position, Constantinople is easy to defend

by land and sea. By land this is the case because the city is situated at the south-eastern extremity of a sort of peninsula, which is bounded on the north by the Black Sea, on the east by the Bosphorus, and on the south by the Sea of Marmora. Thus the capital has only to be protected on one—its western—front. On the sea side Constantinople is also extremely strong, because the Marmora can only be approached by way of the Bosphorus on the north-east, and through the Dardanelles on the south-west.

The land defences of Constantinople may be divided into two sections—the Constantinople and the Chatalja Lines. The Constantinople Lines are made up of an outer and an inner ring of forts, which extend from the Sea of Marmora to Buyukdere on the European side of the Bosphorus. The strength of these forts cannot be estimated, because it is certain that their power of resistance has been greatly increased under the supervision of the Germans.

The Chatalja Lines, which constitute the real land defences of the capital, extend across the Isthmus of Constantinople at a distance of about twenty-five miles to the west of the city. They cover a front of about sixteen miles, a front which is flanked on the south by an inlet of the Sea of Marmora, and on the north by Derkos Göl. The forts, which number about thirty, are constructed on a ridge of hills about 500 feet above the level of the sea. A small stream runs across practically their entire front. These forts have always been maintained in an effective state, but during and since the Balkan Wars no stone has been left unturned to render up-to-date these land defences, which rank only second in importance to the forts situated on the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles.

The length of the Bosphorus is about nineteen miles. Its breadth varies from about 800 yards (just above Rumeli Hissar) to a little over two miles in Buyukdere Bay. Almost throughout its length both shores rise immediately from the water's edge, in some places attaining a height of little more than low hills, whilst in others the elevation reaches that of hundreds of feet. Unlike the Dardanelles, it is bordered by a series of villages, which run practically all the way from Galata to Buyukdere on the European side, and Scutari to Beikos on the Asiatic coast.

The permanent defences of the Bosphorus are nearly all situated at or near its northern end. On the European coast they lie between Therapia, and on the Asiatic side they are situated between Beikos and the Black Sea entrance to the channel. Well hidden in almost every case, some of the redoubts are placed close to the water's edge, whilst others have been constructed on the slopes and summits of the hills, which here attain a height greater than that in any other part of the Bosphorus. Since the Russo-Japanese War a great deal has been done to improve these defences, but even so it is supposed that they

are not only less numerous, but also less strong, than those which protect the Dardanelles.

The north-eastern end of the Dardanelles is distant from Constantinople about 130 miles. The length of the Straits, which are winding and extremely difficult to navigate, is some thirty-three miles. The breadth varies from about 1,300 yards (that is, approximately, the distance from Trafalgar Square to the Law Courts) between Chanak on the Asiatic coast and Kilid Bahr on the European shore, to four or five miles shortly after the entrance to the Straits from the *Ægean*. The average width of the Straits is two or three miles. A strong current runs from the Sea of Marmora towards the Mediterranean.

The Peninsula of Gallipoli, which bounds the Dardanelles on the north-west, is a long, narrow tongue of land some thirty-five miles in length. Its width is only three miles when measured across the Isthmus of Bulair, lying as it does to the north-east of the town of Gallipoli. More to the south-west it widens out, only to narrow again to a breadth of about four miles in rear of the town of Maidos. The coast rises in many places precipitately from the water's edge. Nearly the whole of the country in rear of Maidos consists of hills, which in many places attain a height of 600 or 700 feet above the level of the sea. These hills are intersected by small rocky valleys, with steep, almost precipitous sides, up which I have had to climb on my hands and knees. Much of the country, and especially these valleys, which run for the most part across, and not up and down, the Peninsula, are covered with scrubby bushes two or three feet high. These bushes tear one's boots and clothes and person, and thus, even in peace time, make walking through them a highly difficult and disagreeable experience. The hills immediately to the west and south-west of Kilid Bahr are prettily wooded, the trees extending almost to the seashore. Unless the Turks and the Germans have recently improved them, the roads along and across the Peninsula are very bad, for in the past communication has usually been maintained by sea. As a matter of fact one of the most unpleasant tasks imposed upon our gallant troops upon the Peninsula has been that of making and improving roads, a task of necessity performed under the shell if not the rifle-fire of the enemy.

The most important town on the Peninsula is Gallipoli, at the north-eastern entrance to the Dardanelles. The place is essentially Turkish, and was the first to fall into the hands of the Osmanlis, soon after Sulieman Pasha crossed the Dardanelles and planted the Standard of the Crescent in Europe in the year 1356. The only other places of any importance are Maidos and Kilid Bahr, lying much lower down the Peninsula. Like the remainder of the Peninsula, which is but very sparsely populated, both these towns would be practically unknown and neglected were it not for the strategic value of the country which surrounds them.

There is a great contrast between the two shores of the Dardanelles. The Asiatic coast is for the most part lower, and the appearance of the country is greener and more fertile than that of the Peninsula of Gallipoli. Communication by land is also bad, but a passable road connects Lamsaki (just opposite Gallipoli) with Chanak, and thence runs on down the coast towards the entrance of the Straits. The only centre of any importance is Chanak or Dardanelles, situated opposite Kilid Bahr, and formerly united with that place by a submarine cable. The town, which possesses a population of some 10,000 people, is prettily located on the water's edge. There is an anchorage for ships, both above and below it, and in the past the little bay immediately to the north of the village has usually been occupied by some of the ships which go to make up the Turkish Fleet. As a matter of fact, it was here that the *Messudiyeh* was torpedoed by the British submarine B 11 on December 14th last.

The modern defences of the Dardanelles may be divided into three groups :

1. The forts which defend both sides of the entrance and the outer stretch of the Dardanelles. Of these there are four in Europe and five in Asia. Their importance is as nothing when compared with that of the forts situated upon the Narrows.
2. The forts which defend the Narrows. Of these there are eleven in Europe and four in Asia. Those in Europe are situated near Kilid Bahr, and those in Asia near Chanak.
3. The forts above the Narrows. Of these there are four in Europe and three in Asia.

In addition to these three more or less distinct groups of forts, there are also the Bulair Lines. They run across the isthmus of that name, and thus protect the Peninsula of Gallipoli from attack by a force advancing from the land side. These lines are made up of three or four redoubts connected by trenches, and they cover the only road running into the Peninsula of Gallipoli from the remainder of European Turkey.

The above details are sufficient to prove the greatness of the task undertaken by the Allies when they decided to endeavour to force the Straits. Throughout the last few years, and especially since the Turco-Italian and the Balkan Wars, and particularly since the entry of Turkey into the present war, it must have been obvious and clear that the Turks and the Germans would have made preparations to defend an area which is of the most vital importance to them. Moreover, the whole situation is such that it reacts almost entirely against the belligerents, who are compelled to depend upon the fire of ships and in favour of those in occupation of the shores. The Dardanelles are so narrow that throughout their greater part the power of real manœuvring is denied to all ships except those of a very small size. For

the same reasons—that is, owing to the narrowness and to the winding nature of the channel—the great guns on ships, the range of which is many miles, cannot be utilised to the fullest advantage. Again, the Turks can make use of all kinds of weapons which would be valueless were the range greater. Mobile batteries of guns and howitzers have been placed in countless and secluded valleys in which it is difficult to discover their positions and to rain lead upon them from the sea. Under existing circumstances, therefore, it is almost impossible to discover the actual whereabouts of these guns, which, having made their presence unpleasantly felt, are moved by road and on railway lines to places of safety even before our fire can be brought to bear upon them. The existence of these conditions has extremely detrimental and dangerous consequences, not only for the smaller vessels endeavouring to penetrate the Dardanelles, but also for the allied troops on the Peninsula of Gallipoli, whose lines and positions can be raked and enfiladed by fire from Asia Minor.

The whole position is rendered infinitely more complicated by the fact that the enemy can make the fullest use of mines, and that he can fire land torpedoes in the Dardanelles. Moreover, since the arrival of enemy submarines in the *Ægean* the difficulties have been enormously increased; for the ships, which might otherwise have protected the flanks of our armies, would now be open to the continuous danger of being torpedoed. Again, the presence of these under-water craft makes it now impracticable to utilize transports and larger ships for the purpose of the conveyance of troops to the Peninsula. This means that all manner of smaller craft have to be relied upon for this purpose, and that therefore the position of each and every new landing must be partly influenced by the difficulties and the dangers of utilizing small vessels for a passage of more than but a few brief hours in length.

The extremely unfavourable position of a fleet desirous of entering the Sea of Marmora thus rendered it absolutely necessary that a land attack upon the forts should be inaugurated on the very first day of the operations. That this was not done means that, instead of subsidiary land operations, and instead of landing parties threatening the rear of the forts whilst the Fleet was endeavouring to force a passage, a land campaign of enormous magnitude has had to be undertaken. In other words, since the end of the month of April the all-engrossing interest in the Dardanelles operations has been transferred from events on the sea to those on the land. Here the Allied armies have been and are fighting a series of great battles, with the object of taking the forts by means of what amount to siege operations, and of thus enabling the Fleet to glide rather than to fight its way through into the Sea of Marmora.

Many of these forts, and especially those facing the Narrows from

the European side, are commanded from the hills situated to the north and west of Kilid Bahr. Indeed, from various points on these hills it is possible, as I have done, to look down upon, and actually into, some of the European redoubts of which we have heard so much during the last few months. These hills lie about twelve miles from the extreme south-western end of the Peninsula, and at most six miles from Gaba Tepe.

Turning to a discussion of the actual operations, there is no time or necessity here to allude to details which have already been published, and I will therefore only point out that there have been three distinct stages in the campaign.

First, the original naval attack upon the Straits which began on February 19. From that time until the sinking of the *Bouvet*, *Irresistible*, and *Ocean*, and the damaging of the *Inflexible* and *Gaulois* on March 18, a series of attacks were made upon the forts by ships which entered the Dardanelles, and by others stationed in the Gulf of Xeros. Those latter made use of indirect fire, and threw shells right over the Peninsula of Gallipoli. Mine-sweeping operations were carried out, and certain of the forts which defended the extreme south-western end of the Straits were practically, if not absolutely, destroyed. The net results of these operations were that indirect fire proved, as it has always been held that it would prove, to be little more than a waste of ammunition, that the Dardanelles forts were much stronger than seems to have been supposed by some, and that by the use of mines the Turks possessed a deadly advantage, the magnitude of which it is impossible to exaggerate.

The second stage is that connected with the landing operations which began on Sunday, April 25, and with the terrible fighting of the three months which followed them. On that day landings were made at numerous points at and near the extreme south-western end of the Peninsula, and on the beach immediately to the north of Gaba Tepe, and now known as the Anzac Beach. The general plan was that these two more or less distinct forces, the one composed of the Twenty-ninth Division, and the other made up of the Australian and New Zealand contingents, were respectively to work up and across the Peninsula, with the object of joining hands on their inner flanks and with the purpose of occupying the hills to which I have already referred. They have never been able to accomplish either of these tasks. A third and French force was disembarked at Kum Kaleh, on the Asiatic coast. The operations in the last-named area were subsequently abandoned, and the troops engaged were landed on the Peninsula of Gallipoli, where, so far as we know, they are still holding the right of the Allied positions.

Subsequent to and within a few hours after the landing at the south-western end of the Peninsula, the remains of the Twenty-ninth

Division, supported by units of the Naval Division, swept forward across the whole width of the Peninsula. Later, but during the very early days of the operations, this division, unable without reinforcements to hold its position, was compelled to retire. From that time until the present the whole of the fighting has been directed with the object of endeavouring to secure possession of Atchi Baba—a height which attains an elevation of 750 feet above the sea-level. This all-important position, which extends practically from sea to sea, not only dominates the whole area of country lying to the south-west of it, but it also forms the south-western extremity of the line of hills which traverse practically the whole length of the Peninsula.

The second and what was or should have been the area chosen for the most important disembarkation was that lying in the immediate neighbourhood of Gaba Tepe—that little knoll-like hill which sticks out from the lower part of the western side of the Peninsula of Gallipoli into the Ægean Sea. On both sides of this promontory, and particularly on the north, the coast is comparatively low, and there are narrow stretches of beach upon which it has always been anticipated that a landing could be made. In this area our gallant Australasian troops immediately seized positions on the cliffs—positions in or from which the Turks had either been bayoneted or driven in full flight. The fighting which took place in this district was practically all undertaken with the object of endeavouring to capture the crests of Saribair and of Khoja Chemen Dag, both of which command this part of the Peninsula, and the latter of which attains an elevation of 950 feet above the level of the sea.

The third stage in the operations is that connected with the all-important Suvla Bay operations which began in August. On the 6th of that month a large force was disembarked at Suvla Bay, situated as it is at a distance of about five miles to the north of the Anzac Beach. The plan of operations was that this force should advance in an easterly and south-easterly, while the Australasians pushed forward in a north-easterly, direction, towards Saribair and Chunuk Bair Ridges. The Colonials actually seized the summits of these ridges, but the new attack from the north did not make the progress which was counted upon, and it was not developed quickly enough. The result was that it came to a standstill after an advance of some two and a half miles, and that the Australasians were compelled to withdraw from the positions which they had actually captured. These positions were consolidated, and we secured possession of a connected line extending along a front of more than twelve miles.

This brings us to the second stage of these latest operations—a stage begun after the arrival of fresh reinforcements on August 21. Further attempts were then made from the direction of Suvla Bay, and from the Anzac area, to push forward in an easterly direction

towards Saribair and the hills which command the Narrows. Certain tactical features, commanding the Buyuh Anafarta Valley, were captured, but, in spite of very severe fighting, it seems pretty clear that no appreciable progress was made, and that things were left much as they were before August 21.

Before making a few general remarks upon the manner in which the Dardanelles Campaign has been conducted, there are two factors in the situation concerning which some explanation is required. I refer to the means of communication between the Peninsula of Gallipoli and certain other parts of the dominion of the Sultan, and to the constant suggestion that an Allied landing at or near Bulair would have influenced the Dardanelles operations to our enormous advantage.

In ordinary times communication with the Peninsula of Gallipoli is maintained to some extent by land, but principally by sea. A good road runs from Uzun Kupru on the Constantinople-Adrianople Railway to Gallipoli by way of Keshan, Kavak, and Bulair. This road passes through the Isthmus of Bulair, following a line which runs on the eastern or Dardanelles side of that isthmus. The road is well within the range of the guns of ships lying in the Gulf of Xeros, but even so it can be utilized with comparative safety at night, and, as only a very short section of it is open to view from the sea, that section has probably been protected with earthworks. An Allied landing might have resulted in the occupation of this road, but if so it would have had to be undertaken by a very large force. Not only would the initial operations of such a force have had to be undertaken under the fire of big guns in the Bulair Lines, but, once even in occupation of the Isthmus, such a force would have been compelled to be prepared to meet an attack delivered either or both by the Turkish army on the Peninsula, or by troops endeavouring to come to its assistance from the remainder of Turkey in Europe. By sea, although British submarines have established a reign of terror in the Sea of Marmora, there is no doubt that reinforcements and supplies can still reach the Peninsula by water. In this connection it must always be remembered that the distance from Chanak in Asia to Kilid Bahr in Europe is only some 1,300 or 1,400 yards, and that this distance can easily be covered in small vessels which would form a most difficult target for indirect fire, for bombardment from the air, or for torpedoes fired by submarines.

In the foregoing remarks I have endeavoured to give an outline of various factors which affect the operations at the Dardanelles, rather than to criticize the policy responsible for the inauguration of those operations. Here, as elsewhere in Europe, the real question is, Are we to pursue the war in a manner as rapidly as possible to defeat the enemy, or are we only to undertake the smallest amount of responsibility in order to make the war temporarily as cheap as possible to

ourselves? As there can be no doubt as to the answer to this question, it is clear that, provided the necessary forces were available, we may well have been fully justified in undertaking a campaign which, had it been inaugurated and carried out in the right way, would probably have constituted an overwhelming defeat for the Turco-Germanic enemy.

But in dealing with the situation and with events in the Near East we appear to have acted as if we were in ignorance of the fundamental principles which dominate the Oriental mind. Thus, it should have been apparent from the beginning of the European War that the ruling Young Turks were determined to try to throw in their lot with the enemy, and that the people of Turkey as a whole were in no way adversely disposed towards the Triple Entente, and especially towards England and France. Consequently I think that an original error made was that, directly after the entry of the *Goeben* and of the *Breslau* into the Dardanelles in August of last year, the Allies should have demanded the immediate expulsion of these ships or else have forced or occupied the Straits. This might well have been done, not as an act of war against Turkey, but with the object of saving that unhappy country from her Germanic enemies, and of keeping open an international highway which the Germans were not then in a position to close. Had an internal revolution in Turkey resulted therefrom, it would have been all to the good of the Allied cause. Had war ensued, as it might have done, the Allied naval position would have been such as absolutely to paralyze the Ottoman power of resistance—a power which in the beginning would have collapsed had Constantinople fallen into our hands.

Even now we do not know officially whether it was originally intended to endeavour to make a dash through the Straits, or whether it was planned that such a dash should be supported by Allied contingents or by military forces of then expected Allies landed somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles. In the former case it is clear that those responsible for the hasty inauguration of the campaign must have laboured in ignorance as to the strength of the defences. In the latter alternative it was a grievous mistake that a naval attack was ordered before an adequate landing force was actually upon the spot with which to make a land attack upon the rear of the forts. The net result of this mistake was that the original attack upon the Dardanelles—an attack lasting on and off from February 19 to March 18—was an utter failure. Moreover, this original attack so put the enemy upon his guard and showed him the weak spots in his own defence that, during a further delay of approximately five weeks—that is, until April 25—he had ample opportunity and time to turn the whole Peninsula of Gallipoli into a veritable entrenched camp.

Again, without seeking unduly to criticize a system adopted under circumstances of the utmost difficulty, it is apparent that, at the time of and ever since the landing on April 25, the magnitude and importance of the Dardanelles operations have always been underestimated. Instead of waiting to begin a land attack until sufficient men were available, that attack was inaugurated with contingents the strength of which was ridiculous. For example, the Twenty-ninth Division, depleted by casualties suffered during the original landing at the southwestern end of the Peninsula on April 25, was entirely unable to maintain the successes which it originally achieved. The result was that the Turks, who even then were not adequately prepared, and who probably did not number more than 30,000 men on the Peninsula itself, brought up their reinforcements, large numbers of whom arrived about a week later; and the Germans, who were not then present in great strength, had plenty of time to put in an appearance and to take over the complete direction of affairs in Gallipoli. Subsequently, although very large numbers of men have been despatched to the Mediterranean, with the exception of the August landings, the contingents have, for the most part, consisted of dribblets rather than of an adequate number of divisions all made available at the same time.

At the present moment it is impossible to attempt to forecast what may be the future of the Dardanelles Campaign. It is certain that the entry of Bulgaria into the war upon the side of the enemy, and the continued neutrality of Greece and Rumania, have created a new situation, the unpleasantness and the importance of which it is quite impossible to over-estimate. Had the Allied diplomacy been more successful, and had Bulgaria, therefore, been won over to our side, there is no doubt that the Ottoman resistance at the Dardanelles would have collapsed, and that Constantinople would have been in our hands within the space of a few short weeks. As things stand at present, we do not know how far this campaign will be influenced by the sending or not sending of an expedition to some other part of the Balkan Peninsula. In any case, it is clear that a withdrawal from the Dardanelles would be posssssed of dangers and accompanied by casualties the magnitude of which have never been equalled during the operations. Thus, before we are definitely committed to some other Balkan campaign, and before it is too late for us to withdraw from it, it is to be hoped that the events which have taken place at the Dardanelles will constitute a warning that any new Balkan operations may prove a far larger undertaking than anything which is justified under present circumstances.

The CHAIRMAN: We have listened to a paper which certainly has not been dull. The Society is not a military institution, and consequently I think that anything in the shape of direct criticism of the

acts of our military and naval authorities in the past is to be deprecated. Still, there are some general points to which the lecturer has alluded that I think may be fairly open to discussion. For my own part, I think there was one omission from the paper. It would have interested me greatly to know what the lecturer's opinion was of the military movements in the Near East which have taken place in its different parts, and their co-ordination with each other. It is obvious that, whatever the course of events may be in the Dardanelles, it will be reflected elsewhere. I think it is a rather extraordinary fact that, so far as I have seen, neither in our daily papers nor in any other avenues of discussion has there been reference to the connection between our operations in the Dardanelles and our occupation of Mesopotamia as affecting, for instance, the defence of Egypt. I fully agree with the lecturer as to the far-reaching importance of the Dardanelles operations, and I think one is entitled to say this much, that withdrawal therefrom would be a fatal mistake for this reason, if for no other, that as long as we are fighting there we are containing a very large Turkish force. We are thus crippling Turkish ability to send reinforcements to Mesopotamia or to undertake anything like a formidable invasion of Egypt. Now, that is by no means unimportant. From my past acquaintance with Turkish residents in Mesopotamia, I fully believe that our occupation of that country, and the brilliant success of our campaign which may culminate in the occupation of Baghdad, will maintain our prestige in the East quite sufficiently well, no matter what may happen in the direction of Constantinople. I therefore think it is highly necessary we should keep occupied in the Dardanelles as large a part of the Turkish forces as we possibly can.

Sir EDWIN PEARs, after describing the paper as clear and valuable, said he quite agreed with the Chairman that we must not dream of abandoning the expedition to the Dardanelles. We had passed our word, and they all knew how much that meant for us in the East. We had a reputation for keeping our word, and we were going to keep it (cheers). The lecturer had given a perfectly lucid explanation of the facts. He was not speaking of his conclusions, for he did not altogether share them; but Mr. Woods, like anyone else, was entitled to his opinions. If anyone had gone there with doubts in his mind as to the geographical position, they must have been put at rest by the clear explanations by the lecturer. In connection with references to the River Riva, he referred in some detail to the double defeat inflicted on Licinius by Constantine in 324, first at Adrianople and afterwards at Chrysopolis. As to questions of strategy, he was neither a soldier nor a sailor—he was a lawyer; and when people got into a mess over legal affairs they went to their lawyers, just as they went to their doctors when in physical disorder. Similarly, we should trust the naval and military experts, unless they went seriously wrong, when

we should change them or hang them. But it was not for the man who had no technical knowledge of warfare to criticize what they were doing. The outsider might have general ideas, but he was not in possession of all the facts on which the decisions of those in authority were based. They should always bear that consideration in mind when they were tempted to arrive at a dogmatic opinion as to what should be done or should not be done. Let them keep the military experts up to the mark as far as possible, but they should not dictate to them unless they were quite sure they were in possession of all the facts (hear, hear).

Colonel PEMBERTON said he could not altogether share the opinion of the Chairman, though he might be considered a bold man to say so. If we could hold up the Turkish army in Gallipoli, and thus prevent an attack upon Egypt, we should be wise to do so. Constantinople was the storm centre, and if we could once get in there questions of the defence of Egypt and Mesopotamia would settle themselves. Wherever our seat of power was we must defend it, and similarly we must strike unhesitatingly at the vital points of the enemy, leaving side-issues out for the time being. In the hour of victory the lesser would go with the greater. If, while retaining our naval supremacy, we lost any of our colonies, we should regain them at the end of the war. These were the paramount considerations, and no question of national *amour propre*, no bungling, and no misfortune, should deter us from utilizing our forces purely from the military point of view. We should be guided by considerations of military strategy, and not by political considerations. Of course politics must have their influence, but the leading consideration must be the necessity for taking such action as would insure ultimate victory. The great point was to bring decisive weight to bear in numbers at given points. In these long times of peace we had forgotten Napoleon's maxim, written largely over the whole of his military correspondence, that the essential of success in warfare was numbers, numbers, numbers. That lesson was being brought home by the present war. In Gallipoli we had sent troops in dribblets month after month. He had no wish to criticize the operations there, having regard to the inadequacy of the forces we first landed. The lecturer had shown very clearly how unwise it was to make a naval attack unaccompanied by any landing force in February, and then to give the enemy six weeks in which to prepare for the small force, the Twenty-ninth Division, we first landed. After six months we had still little progress to report. Turning to the map, it was interesting to note that there were some close analogies between Port Arthur and the Kwang-tung Peninsula and the Gallipoli Peninsula. Each was thirty-five miles long, each was closed on the land side by a small neck of land three or four miles across. The character of the country was very much the same,

though the sudden rise of the hills was worse in Kwang-tung than in Gallipoli. We might carry the analogy farther by saying that the Russians in occupation of Port Arthur corresponded to the Turks, and the English to the Japanese assailants. The great point of difference was that in the Japanese attack sea and land forces were combined, and the Japanese landing parties were ten times stronger than the defending forces. History had recorded the great and speedy success of such an attack. In the same way, given an adequate force, we might have fought our way down the Gallipoli Peninsula.

Colonel C. E. YATE, M.P., said he heartily agreed with the Chairman and Sir Edwin Pears as to the adverse political effects if we were compelled to evacuate our position in Gallipoli. The Chairman had referred to our brilliant successes in Mesopotamia. In this connection he would like to say that he thought very few people in this country realized, or in fact had the remotest idea, what tremendous sufferings and hardships our soldiers in Mesopotamia had gone through, and the terrible climatic and transport difficulties they had had to contend with and overcome. However, success had crowned their efforts, and we were within measurable distance of Baghdad. We could not exaggerate the importance of these achievements, seeing that the name of Turkey stood very high, not only in Mesopotamia, but throughout Afghanistan and among the tribes of the Indian Frontier. Old Indians like himself could recall the great wave of excitement which passed over those portions of the Mohammedan world when the Turks defeated the Greeks some years ago. If it should now be said that the Turks had driven the English out of Gallipoli, we should probably have a similar, and indeed much greater, wave of excitement throughout the whole of Asia. It was true that in a military sense we did not know the facts, and could therefore give no opinion as to the strategic question. But it was to be hoped that political considerations would also be borne in mind by His Majesty's Government when they were coming to a final consideration on this grave question, and he could not help expressing the hope that our military commanders would find it possible to maintain their position in Gallipoli, and carry through their difficult work to a victorious end.

Colonel A. C. YATE said that he ventured to differ from Sir Edwin Pears and Colonel C. E. Yate, and to suggest that strategy and tactics might outweigh politics and recommend withdrawal from Gallipoli, where we were holding our position by the skin of our teeth. He recognized that withdrawal would be a difficult procedure by no means free from danger, but it might be possible to safely surmount those difficulties. He had no very intimate acquaintance with the geography of the Gallipoli Peninsula, though he had on several occasions visited Constantinople, and in July, 1885, had swum across the Bosphorus from Beikos to Therapia. He had suggested to the War Office, when

the Turkish trouble arose, that this achievement might be a recommendation for employment, but to his sorrow they did not accept that view.

In relation to the remarks of Sir Edwin Pears as to the operations which led up to the battle (A.D. 323) between Constantine and Licinius at Scutari, he could not help expressing regret that the Russians had never succeeded in effecting a diversion by way of the Black Sea, at a time when we were so hard pressed in Gallipoli. It is true that the Russians had had immense difficulties in defending their vast frontier and saving their army from defeat; but, now that we had come to the present stage of the war, it was very important to know whether Russia could or could not do something to attack Turkey and Bulgaria by way of the Black Sea. He presumed that, if we concentrated a force at Enos, we should be able to get possession of and dominate the main line of railway connecting Salonika with the eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula. We might thus interpose effectively to prevent a junction between the Turkish and Bulgarian troops. Looking to the future, we might hope for a new factor—that of Italy—coming into the Balkan conflict, and creating a diversion by landing strong forces on the coast of Montenegro, and moving them through that country into Serbia. This would probably be welcome to the Montenegrins, who were fearing an Austro-German attack.

Sir EDWIN PEARS, in answer to a question, gave details as to the prevailing winds and currents in the Dardanelles. He said that for ten months in the year the winds were from north-east to south-west; but there were rapid changes, and for a total aggregate period of two months the winds were in the opposite direction.

Mr. WOODS, replying to these comments, said he was in agreement with the Chairman and Sir Edwin Pears, that it was most undesirable that at the present time they should attempt to tear in pieces the policy of the political and military authorities. But he thought the audience would agree with him that his criticisms had not been severe, and had been based upon a general consensus of opinion on well-known facts. Had he been inclined to very severe criticism, he would have said a great many things he had refrained from saying. He had purposely avoided touching on the general question of evacuating Gallipoli, except in the course of a few words at the end of his lecture. He thought that the question of evacuation or pushing on with the task before us at the Dardanelles depended entirely upon the troops we were able to send there, and upon the claims of other areas to which we were obliged to send our armies. But what he did say and held was that it was quite useless to press our attack on the Dardanelles, or to send an expedition to any other part of the Balkan Peninsula, unless it was to be an adequate expedition. He did think that he was justified in saying that either the expedition to the Dardanelles was not adequate,

or else that the operations were not conducted in the way one might have hoped. Personally he contended that the expedition was not adequate. Of course the men might not have been available, and it was not easy to make bricks without straw. The whole question depended upon facts of which the public had not full knowledge. There might be decided political or military reasons for pushing on, or there might be strong reasons for our sending an expedition elsewhere instead; but he had deemed it prudent not to go deeply into that question.

With regard to the Chairman's remark as to the influence of events in Gallipoli on other parts of the Near East, one of his reasons for not touching thereon was the shortness of time, and the other was that had he touched upon it it would have been necessary to cover very wide ground. There was no doubt that in respect to Mesopotamia, the Caucasus, and Egypt, the Dardanelles operations had had a very beneficial effect. At the same time, he would have been obliged to refer to the fact that elsewhere in the Balkans the operations had contributed to an attitude towards us which was far from satisfactory.

He wished to thank Colonel Pemberton for his exceedingly interesting remarks. He recollected that there were resemblances between the military situation in Gallipoli and that which faced the Japanese before they wrested Port Arthur from the Russians, and he was in full agreement with Colonel Pemberton as to the great importance of adequate numbers.

With regard to the remarks of Colonel Arthur Yate on the possibility of a Russian diversion from the north, while recognizing how heavy were the tasks Russia was discharging, he agreed that we decidedly required whatever support we could get in order to draw off the enemy troops from the Dardanelles, and thus to ease our task there. But he had been particularly desirous, in preparing his paper, to say nothing which could, if reported, be in any way offensive to any of the countries which were now our Allies; and he felt that any detailed discussion of the question of a Russian diversion might be thought decidedly offensive in that country. They all shared the hope of Colonel Yate that the assistance of Italy might be forthcoming. But all these questions, unfortunately, were influenced by political as well as by military considerations. It had to be recognized that the landing of Italian forces in Montenegro for the defence of Serbia would be difficult from a military point of view, because of the bad state of the roads which would have to be traversed for access into Serbia. The step would further raise questions of a political kind with which it was not desirable to deal on that occasion. They must be left to the judgment of the Allied Governments.

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CENTRAL MESOPOTAMIA*

By PERCEVAL LANDON

At a meeting of the Society on January 19, 1916, the Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand was in the chair. He said that Mr. Perceval Landon had kindly promised them a paper on "Central Mesopotamia," and they all knew his excellent qualifications for the task.

Mr. Landon's paper, illustrated by lantern views, was as follows:

I

It is a curious name, Mesopotamia, though it is simple enough, "The Land between the Rivers." The word is long; and it has been touched by a shaft of ridicule, but there seems no chance now of abandoning the title for something handier and better suited to the traditional cradle of the earth's population. The Arabs divide the district into two parts at about the level of Baghdad. They speak of the upper part as the "Jesireh," of the lower part as "Irak Arabi." But although, of course, the first word means an island, the inhabitants do not limit the district, any more than we do, to the land which is actually bounded on the west by the Euphrates and by the Tigris on the east.

For all practical purposes, the limits of Mesopotamia are clear enough. Not very far beyond the waters of these two great rivers nature has imposed a definite boundary on all sides. To the north-west, the north, the north-east, and the east, mountains of no inconsiderable height hedge round this level seed-plot of humanity. To the south-east and south swamps make an even more effective barrier. To the south-west and west, for hundreds of miles there stretches a waterless desert which remains to this day one of the least-known districts on the world's surface. Except for a practically abandoned dromedary track between Damascus and Hit, and a few rare single-line tracks of adventurous travellers, almost nothing whatever is known of the bitter desert that stretches between Palmyra and Hail except the approaches to the town of Jaufr. The visits of Butler and Aylmer and the through-tracks of Carruthers and

* A lecture given before the Central Asian Society on January 19, 1916, by Perceval Landon.

Leachman, have but traced a painful line from water-hole to water-hole. If Captain Shakespeare were alive, or if his notes had been saved, we should know much more. As it is, the Syrian Desert is about as well known to us as the South Polar regions.

II

For all practical purposes there is only one entrance by which civilization and Western peoples can find their way into Mesopotamia, and that is from the south-east by the Persian Gulf and Basra. Mesopotamia essentially looks south-east—a cardinal fact that will not be altered by the construction of the Baghdad Railway or of any other line.

I do not wish to spend time in reminding the Society of the German adventure—which, I believe, has already been discussed at its meetings more than once; but I should like to point out the course of the proposed railway. The line is broken before it enters Mesopotamia by the barrier of the Cilician Gates. Later on its advance is broken more seriously still near a place called Bagtche. Here it is said that seventy tunnels and as many viaducts are required to join up the Adana section with the Aleppo terminus. From Aleppo the track emerges again, and soon turns to the north-east. It crosses the Euphrates at Jerablus and is in nominal running order to Ras-el-Ain, beyond which point there seems to be some small distance of metalled way. From here to Samarra, or a point a little north of it, there is a gap of something like 320 miles. From a military standpoint the railway is already of some use to the Turks in transporting munitions from Aleppo to Jerablus, whence they can be floated down the River Euphrates to Feluja or Khan Makdum, the usual landing-place for Baghdad.

It is a truism that the railway was originally begun as a strategic line. By strategic, I mean politically as well as militarily strategic. Industrially, it never presented any hope of solvency. The possibility of competing commercially by its help with the rivers flowing out of Mesopotamia to the south-east could only have been entertained by the Germans with an intention to juggle with the kilometric guarantee exacted from the unhappy Turks, and to make them pay for the certain annual loss. But this is old ground. The immediate point is that the railway is not finished, and cannot be finished before the end of the war; and then an entirely different chapter in its history will be opened.

It is strange that the modern civilized world has fought out its destinies in places and by methods so remote from those of the district in which civilization had its origin. Yet, indeed, the latter has little to attract modern attention. The normal aspect of the country is

a monotonous level waste of sand and gravel, unrelieved by shrub or tree. The picture on the screen so far flatters the average landscape of Mesopotamia that it contains three or four mounds in the foreground. These represent the latest stages of some ancient city, which neither the chance hint of history nor the curiosity of the archæologist has been strong enough to induce anyone to explore. I assure you that such—the mounds being taken away—is the normal appearance of Central Mesopotamia for nine-tenths of its surface. Of course, actually beside the two great rivers—that is to say, within a few yards in most cases—there are date-palms, reeds, and willows; and a small amount of watered and cultivated land may be found, but at present such land is confined to only a tenth of what might be so developed. It is because of the possibility of making this country—which was able in Babylonian times to support a population of at least ten million souls—once again a prosperous and fertile granary, not merely for itself but for the rest of the world, that European interest has chiefly been directed towards Mesopotamia in the course of the last fifteen years.

III

Before, however, I refer either to the possibilities of the country or its present life and customs, it may be interesting to take a typical case of an ancient centre of civilization. In order that you may see a little of what remains of the splendour of Babylon, I will ask you briefly to follow me in a journey through some of the ruins of the most famous of all cities. Thirty years ago there was nothing to mark the site of Babylon beyond an undulating height of land on the eastern banks of the Hilleh branch of the Euphrates, a little north of the shabby Arab village of Hilleh. Those sand humps were not certainly recognized as Babylon. Therefore there seemed no reason to embark upon an excavation which was obviously to be of a most costly description at a time when other sites appeared more certain and more lucrative. In the end, I regret to say, we owed the clearing and mapping of Babylon to the Germans. It was entrusted to the ablest man they had, Professor Koldewey, and he has done his work with a sagacity, ripe knowledge, and success with which one would like to be able to credit this country. He swept aside at once the early Victorian identification of the Tower of Babel—Babel is, of course, the same as Babylon—with Birs Nimrud some eighteen miles to the south; but it required the industry of years to lay bare the floors of the gigantic palaces of Nebuchadnezzar, and more still before the final discovery was certain of E-sag-il-a. E-sag-il-a was the central temple of Ma-duk—or, as we know him better in the Bible, Merodach. And then were discovered in their inevitable

place the last remnants of the most famous of all Towers. But I am over-running my story.

The Palace of Nebuchadnezzar was about seven times the size of Buckingham Palace, and, where it was not founded upon the natural rise in the ground to the south, was supported upon gigantic foundations. These huge works gave rise to the well-known but mistaken phrase, "The Hanging Gardens of Babylon." It is clear that these were jutting-out or under-vaulted terraces terminating the royal palace to the north, and were only *κρεμάσται* (or hanging) in the sense in which a kindred Greek word is used of flowers which are supported by their stalks. In a most effective way low reliefs of strange beasts were built, brick by brick, upon these huge red piers, even, it is curious to note, upon the subterranean arches of the grand entrance, where there was no chance of the sun reaching them. Babylon was built of brick. (The only stone course in it was composed of limestone brought down from Hit by Nebuchadnezzar, who was so proud of it that he took the trouble to inscribe on each stone: "This wall was built of stone by Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon.") These palace bricks are kiln-burnt. The rest of Babylon was made of sun-baked clay, and the one lamentable fact in connection with the disinterment of Babylon is that though many of the temples have been located and named with certainty, their discovery has in every case meant their ruin. On my arrival in Babylon I asked Dr. Koldewey to show me the Temple of Ishtar, which had been discovered a few years before. He could only express his regret that the Temple was already a scarcely recognizable heap of sand and mud. It had been photographed from every possible angle, it had been measured with a minuteness which no modern building knows, and every particular and characteristic of it had been noticed, but the laying bare of the long-buried brick to the sun and wind had proved its ruin; and such a fate awaits every one of the other buildings in Babylon soon after their discovery. As I could see myself, when discovered, these temples are in a remarkably fine state of preservation. Many of them were ornamented with wide perpendicular stripes of black and white, and thin, flat buttresses, similar to the outer decoration of the lamasserais of Tibet.

In a general eastward view of Babylon you will see in the middle distance a curious long hill with a cut in it. This has a curious history. When I was leaving the Temple of Marduk, the Professor and I walked two hundred yards or so till we reached a gigantic square mound surrounded by the remains of a moat. He said: "If it interests you at all to know it, *that* is all that remains of the Tower of Babel." He continued quickly: "Do not mistake me: I do not mean to say that these are the remains of the first tower that was ever built on this spot. For centuries before any historical record, this was venerated as the holiest

place in Mesopotamia. I will go further," he said. "Were I to sink a shaft into this mound I would undertake to find record below record of other towers which had been built on the same spot, until the water stopped me. But I can assure you that this is all that remains of the Tower of Babel which the writer of Genesis had in his mind when he wrote the famous account of the Dispersion." He went on to explain how it had become, in a way, the *omphalos* of Western Asia, and how conqueror after conqueror had added to the existing tower that he found on his arrival. Nebuchadnezzar refused to be outdone, dug new foundations—in the moat—and raised upon this site a more gigantic edifice than any that had existed before. The tower was the "ziggurat," or tower of the Temple of Marduk, and as that Temple increased in fame and wealth and splendour, the Tower within its precincts became more and more magnificent. Nebuchadnezzar's Tower lasted until the famous and fatal visit to Babylon of Alexander the Great. He, with that touch of childishness which is one of his most marked and not the least lovable of his characteristics, determined at once to build something bigger still. He pulled down the Tower of Nebuchadnezzar and carted it a mile or two away into the plain to the east, where the remains now form the long hill with a cut in it, to which I have drawn your attention. His men worked down to, and cleared out, the foundations of the earlier tower, and there stopped—for the good and sufficient reason that Alexander was dead. So the foundations of the Biblical tower have remained exposed for 2,200 years.

The Temple of Marduk itself is an exception to the rule of universal decay that I mentioned just now, because, owing to its extraordinary interest, Professor Koldewey had it excavated inside its mound without exposing it to the air more than was necessary. The effect is very curious; with a lantern one can penetrate corridor after corridor, making one's way in the dark between the recently exposed walls of the temple on the one side and on the other the hard, sandy mass which had filled them and hidden them from sight for so many centuries. What is more interesting still, is to stand within the chapel of that oldest of earth's divinities, Ea, somewhat to the left of the Holy of Holies as one approaches it from the Tower, in which the field-marshal of Alexander the Great gathered on the night of his decease, to pray from the Gods of Mesopotamia for the boon that the Gods of Macedonia seemed powerless to give.

IV

But Mesopotamia does not contain dead cities only. Of Baghdad itself it is not necessary to speak now at any length. It is a city wholly different from and, indeed, placed on a different spot from that which has been made famous to us by the Arabian Nights. It has within it one or two mosques of some slight interest, and the remains of the walls testify to its one-time military strength. But Baghdad was born to trade, not to fight. Across the river to the west, there are one or two important ruins. The gilded dome of the Mosque of Kazimain, rises from a dense raffle of close, ill-smelling streets, inhabited by Moslems who show no liking for the Christian dog of a visitor.

But at Kerbela, two days' journey to the west, a smaller but a far more important and far more interesting centre is to be found. Kerbela marks the field of blood of the Moslem race. Here Hussein, the son of Ali and the grandson of Mahomet himself, was rounded up and slaughtered with his followers. I need not remind the Society that from this disaster is to be traced the division of the Mahommedan faith into its two great branches to-day. This strange and fanatic town occupies a curious position from a religious and therefore from a political point of view. It is an enclave of Persia in Turkish territory, and from its vast religious importance invites special treatment when, after this war is over, not merely the rights and wrongs of the Persians but our duties towards them, will bring its future position into our close consideration.

It is not the antiquities or the curiosities of Mesopotamia that especially claim our attention this afternoon. I would like to show you, so far as I can, some of the occupations of the modern Mesopotamian, such as a street scene in one of the smaller Mesopotamian towns, Mahmudie, on the high road between Baghdad and Babylon. The place is interesting because it was from here that the famous Stele of Khammurabi was transported to Susa and there discovered after the lapse of many centuries. Or, again, the interior of an ordinary Arab house. It is, of course, an accident that the palms are growing through the roof, but it is not an accident that there are no windows looking out, and that the wall which surrounds the roof is six feet high. Or, again, some views of the great rivers. One of them shows you the ancient but still almost universal method of irrigation practised by the Arab. As you see, a wheel, some thirty feet in diameter, is hung with pots, and is then driven by the force of the current in a continuous circle, some at least of the water in the revolving pots reaching the trough which you see at the end of the masonry. It is the most wasteful method of collecting water that exists, but it

must not be forgotten that, except for the original cost, it is entirely inexpensive.

It is worth while to notice the extraordinary primitive craft in which the traffic and transport of the two great rivers is carried on. Besides the few paddle steamers owned by Messrs. Lynch and the Turkish Government, which ply between Basra and Baghdad, the only steam-propelled craft is a small steamer the size of a motor-boat, which runs irregularly between Feluja and Meskenah on the Euphrates. At this moment the lower reaches of the Euphrates, that is to say, anywhere south of Hindieh, are not navigable. An attempt was made in 1908 by one of Messrs. Lynch's most capable captains to work his way through, but the venture was only just not a complete disaster. Besides these steam-boats—which draw very little water, and in consequence steer like busses on greasy asphalt, there are baggalas, larger boats with high-peaked bows and picturesque tattered lateen sails. Also ballams, which are light canoe-shaped boats, admirably adapted for going with wind and tide.

The two most characteristic native craft are the kelek and the kufa. The kelek is simply a framework of boards laid on the top of distended skins. These boats are generally watertight enough to stand the journey from Mosul to Baghdad. No attempt is made to return, and the skins and boards fetch fair prices in the Baghdad markets. The kufa is best explained by a picture. It is a tarred coracle, which is a much more scientific vehicle than it seems to be, as it draws but two or three inches of water, and can therefore be navigated without great difficulty across the fastest currents of the Tigris or the Euphrates.

V

One of the oldest trades of the world is that of the pitch-workers of Hit. Hit is the place from which Noah obtained the pitch with which he tarred the Ark. There is a very old Mahomedan tradition to this effect, and as Hit is the chief bituminous centre of Mesopotamia, it may have interest to those who like to follow in the place of their birth the legends and stories that crowd so picturesquely the pages of Genesis.* From a more modern point of view it has possibly valuable oil springs at a little distance to the south-east. Many people believe Hit to be the site of the Garden of Eden. All I can say is that at present the stench of rotten eggs can be smelled for five miles round it.

* That the pitch for the Ark—whatever the exact story of the Ark and the Deluge may be—was taken from Hit seems probable because the nearest alternative place is the Maidan-i-Naftun, on the site of the Anglo-Persian Oil-fields, 400 miles away.

No word has become more suddenly familiar within the last few weeks than Ctesiphon, and it may be of interest to show you the famous ruin round which the gallant but unsuccessful battle was fought by General Townshend on his road towards Baghdad. The view is taken from the Tigris a little above the ruin, and shows—on a plain characteristic of Mesopotamia—the famous arch which, if it has survived recent artillery fire, remains the most extraordinary vault in Roman architecture. It measures seventy-five feet from side to side, and is a perfect semi-circle. The interest of this part of the Tigris lies painfully in the fact that one never knows from day to day what it is going to do. South-west of this arch and only two miles away, the Tigris makes a sudden bend to the south-west as if it were off to Babylon, and then, repenting of its effort, returns again in a loop seven miles long, to within seventy yards of its previous track. That is, there is a frail skin of sand (which falls into the river day by day), separating the upper and the lower reaches of the great river, and within a very short time the day will come when the partition will break down, and the Tigris will hurl itself with redoubled force and double volume into its old channel by a new and sudden door. The descent during those seven miles may be no more than two or three feet, but the most up-to-date engineering scientist in Baghdad declined to prophesy to me what would happen in the lower reaches of the Tigris when that inevitable day occurred.

VI

The closely screened Bazaars in Mesopotamia will give you some idea of the precautions that have to be taken against the sun, even by these hardened sons of Ishmael and in these tumbledown villages. The Bazar at Mayadin affords a good example of the way in which the Arab, at least, takes no risks. Nor is this his only precaution. In many places the "serdab" is as necessary a part of the house as any other room in it. This room is simply a cellar below the centre of the house, to which, when the heat becomes excessive, the family retires. They are sometimes doubled, like the Mamertine prison in Rome. I remember finding refuge on a particularly hot day, at Shustar, in a second cellar some ten feet below the upper serdab. Here the air was pleasantly cool, and though, of course, there was no light except what a few oil lamps gave, the place was furnished with rugs and cushions in by no means an uncomfortable manner.

It is absurd to pretend that travelling is anything but a wearisome occupation in Mesopotamia. In a spider-like conveyance on four wheels, or arabana, set about with curtains which attract every fly within sight, sound, or smell, one bumps dolefully and eternally over

the surface of the desert in a haze of dust. The pole probably breaks and is patched up again as best may be with pieces of string or a few lengths of soft iron—until the next break occurs. The arabanji is always in his most optimistic mood when mending a break. There is nothing to see except the dull level stretch of ochreous horizon, or now and again the dun and pewter lights of the muddy river surface. One halts at midday for a meal beside the bank. There is no shade to sit in; there is nothing to see in the way of flowers; and the fish one has neither time to catch nor palate to eat. Travelling is simply a question of putting stage after stage behind one, and, sometimes one receives an unpleasant reminder that everyone has not been so lucky in escaping damage as oneself. For example, the bridge which leads the main track across a small wadi into Ana was the scene of a sudden fatality. A Turk had been travelling over the route two days before, and his horses had taken fright at the sight of a stone bridge and had jumped the parapet. You may see the two dead horses at the bottom still. Of course both the Turk and his servant were killed outright.

Then there is always the possibility of the sand-storm. I suppose that all of us have listened with bated breath, in our early days, to the story of the storm in the desert, during which, according to the lurid pictures of our childhood, there was nothing to be done but bury one's nose against the sides of one's long-suffering camel. But, as the story was careful to continue, even that expedient did not, as a rule, save the unfortunate travellers and animals from becoming and remaining mere hummocks of sand on the site of the tragedy. I suppose that in later life we have all come to deride the traditional sandstorm much as one pooh-poohs things like the maelstrom and the upas tree; but I was fortunate enough to take a photograph which will, I think, convince this Society that there is something to be said for the old story. When this photograph was developed it was returned to me by the sympathetic Kodak Company, with a note to the effect that the film had been spoiled. This, however, was by no means the case. A sandstorm which, as you will easily understand, always travels faster overhead, with its two miles of lighter grit, than on the surface of the ground with its substantial pebbles, was blowing over me. I took this photograph just before the lower, dense mass of driving stones and debris caught me. You will see the black curtain of the sand driving over my head and over the river for a clear mile, leaving the lower horizon still bright for the moment. Then the storm caught me, and I made my way indoors, clinging to the wall.

VII

What does Mesopotamia export at this moment ? Except dates, practically nothing of any international importance. But what could it export ? The answer to this question is to be found in the work done by Sir William Willcocks, of which a small part has already been carried into effect. I do not think that Englishmen always realize the enormous debt that not Mesopotamia merely nor only the British Empire, but the civilized world, owes to this man. I can only glance in the briefest possible manner at the irrigation proposals by which he suggests turning Mesopotamia into a second and a greater Egypt. Roughly speaking, his plan is to revive with newer and better methods the old system of irrigation, which provided Mesopotamia with its ancient teeming population and wealth. I may just say that the scheme is divided into five main portions, of which one is already completed—the Hindieh Barrage. The magnitude of the works necessitated by this great scheme is not always appreciated at home. The immediate result of this Barrage—which, by the way, takes the place of a broken dam, constructed by the French from large burnt bricks each stamped with the name and titles of Nebuchadnezzar—will be the raising of the water level in the old Hilleh Canal, and eventually the restoration of the old Babylon area of cultivation. Incidentally the Professor at Babylon told me with much sadness that it will put an end to a great part of his work of exploration, as it will raise the height of the water in his excavations by six or eight feet. Secondly, there is a curious scheme by which Lake Habbania is to be used both as an outlet for the flood waters of the Euphrates, and as an enormous reservoir which will some day be employed in what may be called the Kerbela circle of cultivation on the west bank of the Euphrates. Then we have the great scheme by which the territories between the Euphrates and the Tigris are re-canalised by a project roughly following the old lines of cultivation which extend from above Ramadie to Baghdad on the Tigris, and thence descend slightly in a southerly direction till the Euphrates receives the superfluous water again. The resuscitation of the old irrigation works, still more or less in use, within the Diala district, and a magnificent scheme, rather of drainage than of irrigation, by which hundreds of square miles of swampy land below Kut-el-Amara will be rendered fertile, complete, I believe, at this moment a scheme which for sheer benefit to humanity is entitled to rank only with such work as that of M. de Lesseps.

VIII

One always has to speak of Mesopotamia with a certain sense of insecurity. Check by jowl, the old there jostles the new. As we have seen, the bricks of Nebuchadnezzar were used by French engineers, and the famous Yezidis who worship the Devil—and, incidentally, cannot abide the colour blue—are not unkindly hosts to the weary London missionary who sometimes finds himself benighted beside one of their rare encampments. The prejudices of the Arabs, and, be it added, their magnificent traditions of hospitality and of honour, are maintained to-day as fully as when the leaves of the Koran were newly collected and given to the Moslem world. Already the engines of the Baghdad railway snort amid the ruins of Carchemish—and there is nothing the Arabs love so much as a short journey, sixteen to a compartment. The persistence of an ancient régime amid new influences could not be better illustrated than by the present life of Mesopotamia; and he would be a bold prophet who did not take example from the past history of this great and lonely desert to prophesy little but the immediate industrial future. Nothing is more certain in Mesopotamia than change, nothing, except perhaps the certainty that when all is over and done, the eternal and primitive character of the country and its inhabitants will hold its own impassively but irresistibly side by side with any modern influence. Massudi, the historian of 940, tells the story that when Khaled conquered Babylon there was an aged man of el-Hirah sent to make terms on behalf of the city. (I take this story from one of the best geographical books that ever was written, Mr. Beazley's "Dawn of Modern Geography.") In conversation, Khaled demanded the meaning of the huge buildings of Babylon. The messenger replied, "They are built for mad people, who are shut up in them till they come to their senses"—meaning thereby, until they learn the truth of the flux of all things and see the folly of building for eternity, or even for a moderately distant future.

This gave the conqueror food for thought. "And how many years have come over thee?" he demanded.

"Three hundred and fifty."

"And what hast thou seen?"

"I have seen the ships of the sea coming up over this firm land with the goods of Sind and of India. The ground that is now under thy feet was then covered with the waves; where is now the sand of the desert was once full of villages, trees and crops, canals and streams. So God visits his servants and his country." Allowing for Oriental imagery, there was a substratum of truth in the old man's description of Mesopotamia at an indefinitely earlier period.

Still, in spite of the aged man of el-Hirah, there are some things certain even in Mesopotamia, and so long as man exists the muddy waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris will continue to offer him their priceless gifts. We know, too, that there is no soil in the world which can produce greater or more frequent crops than that of these long fallow levels. The two things are waiting for us. For us. It is not unpleasant to close this lecture with the belief—indeed, the certainty—that whatever may happen to Mesopotamia politically during the next few years, we may be sure that the treasure chest of this great land will, within a few years, have been opened by English hands, and we may well hope that its rich contents will be distributed to a waiting world by the same plain folk who have so often and in so many quarters of the world turned the wilderness into a smiling plain.

Sir EVAN JAMES, who had taken Sir Mortimer Durand's place in the chair, said he was expressing the views of all present in thanking Mr. Landon for an extraordinarily interesting lecture. By modern engineering in India the wilderness had been made to blossom as the rose. There were parts of the Punjab, for example, which were to all appearance far more sterile than the Mesopotamian plains which had been thrown on the screen; but the irrigation engineer had converted them into prosperous wheat lands. They would all hope that the work of Sir William Willcocks in Mesopotamia, to which the lecturer had paid such deserved tribute, would have like beneficent results when the war was over.

The audience owed an additional debt to Mr. Landon for the trouble he had taken in showing and describing to them the excellent series of photographs which he had taken in Mesopotamia. It was sad to think that the excavation of the temples led to their crumbling and collapsing; but all archæologists will be thankful that pictures of these ancient buildings were secured before the weather had injured the fabrics.

Lieut.-Colonel A. C. YATE said he had not travelled in Mesopotamia, but Meshed in Persia, which he had visited in 1885, contained the greatest Shi'a shrine in the world next to Kerbela—viz., the golden-domed Shrine of the Imam Reza. He thought that the iron door-chains at Kerbela to which Mr. Landon had drawn attention were possibly connected with the right of "*bast*" or sanctuary, which was a privilege of Mahommedan shrines to-day, as it had been formerly of Christian religious edifices. When he was with the Afghan Boundary Commission in 1884, he took into his service a Persian who came from Meshed. He was faithful for a time, but, when the Afghan Boundary Commission was encamped somewhere between Herat and Penjdeh, he decamped, and went off to Meshed with his despatch-

box, containing a large sum in rupees, a revolver, a gold watch and, what inconvenienced him (the speaker) the most, all his spare eye-glasses, which were carefully kept in his despatch-box. In April, 1885, he spent several weeks at Meshed, and ascertained that the thief was there in *bast*. No one, least of all a foreigner, dare touch a man in *bast*. The priesthood would raise an outcry that might cost a foreigner his life. But the man was known to occasionally come outside *bast*. The British Agent, Mirza Abbas Khan, concurred in a plan to catch him. He was watched, and on temporarily leaving *bast* was caught, and compelled to give up such of the property as remained with him. Colonel Yate suggested that the man should be punished, but the British Agent advised him to leave well alone, and be content with what he had got. The best description of the sacred Memorial and Tomb of the Imam Reza is to be found in Colonel C. E. Yate's "*Khurāsān and Sistān*" (*Blackwood*, 1900), and in an article contributed to the *Nineteenth Century and After*, of May, 1913, by Colonel Harry Stanley Massy, formerly of the 19th Bengal Lancers, who had entered the Shrine in disguise—a daring adventure. Lieut.-Colonel Yate thought the iron chains across the Kerbela gates might very well be a symbol of sanctuary.

Sir EVAN JAMES, in expressing the thanks of the Society to Mr. Landon, said he was one of the few people present who had been in Mesopotamia, though he did not get beyond Basra. Some of the tracts about the Shatt-al-Arab seemed to him of a most fertile character, and he confessed having had an idea up to now that there were similar tracts in other portions of Mesopotamia. From what Mr. Landon had told them it was evident they must wait for some day—he hoped it would not be a distant one—when the irrigation engineer would bring cultivation back as in the days of the great Nebuchadnezzar. In the India Office there were a few of those old bricks stamped with the name of that monarch, to which Mr. Landon had referred. He possessed one himself. It was brought from the ruins of Babylon by an officer of the Indian Marine, who was travelling there from Basra.

Mr. LANDON, replying to a vote of thanks proposed by Colonel Yate and seconded by Sir Frederic Fryer, said that the subject of Mesopotamia was very large, and many aspects of it could not be freely discussed yet. But at a time when military operations there were a matter of immediate interest, he thought it might be well to present to a London audience some elementary facts about the war. He was glad to gather from the remarks that had been made that he had not been entirely wrong in coming to that conclusion.

SEVEN MONTHS IN HIGH ASIA

By Miss ELLA SYKES, F.R.G.S.

At a meeting of the Society on February 2, 1916, the Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand was in the chair, and in introducing Miss Ella Sykes, said that many of those present were personally acquainted with her, and those who were not of course knew of her as a very intrepid and cheerful traveller with great descriptive gifts. She had lectured to the Society before, to their great satisfaction, and he was quite sure they had a great pleasure before them.

The lecture, which was illustrated by lantern slides from photographs taken by Miss Sykes or her brother, Colonel Sir Percy M. Sykes, was as follows:

It is impossible in the space of half an hour to give any adequate idea of a journey which comprised residence in Kashgar, a seven weeks' tour in the Russian Pamirs and the Highlands of Chinese Turkestan, followed later by an expedition along the edge of the Takla Makan Desert to Khotan, famous for its jade.

My aim, therefore, has been to concentrate on Kashgar, the capital of Chinese Turkestan, with some account of the Roof of the World and its scanty Khirghiz population.

My brother and I went out early last March to Kashgar in order that he might act for Sir George Macartney, the well-known Consul-General, who was going home on leave.

Kashgar is certainly one of, if not the most, inaccessible Consular posts in the world, and it took us over a month to reach it. Owing to the war, we were obliged to go and return by a roundabout route, crossing from Newcastle to Bergen, then through Norway and Sweden; round the head of the Gulf of Bothnia to Tornea in the Arctic Circle, and so through Finland to Petrograd and Moscow.

From the fascinating city of the Kremlin we travelled five days and five nights in the train. As far as Samara with its great bridge over the Volga, the world was lapped in ice and snow, but when we passed into Asia, by way of Orenburg, spring was in the air.

Round the Lake of Aral a green flush was visible on the vast sweep of the steppe, and at Tashkent, the capital of Russian Turkestan, we were in a city of fruit-blossom and enervating warmth.

The Russian Railway came to an end at the small town of Andijan, from where we drove thirty miles to the pretty little Russian cantonment of Osh. Here we halted to buy stores for our twelve days' ride over the mountains, and old Jaffer Bai, the chuprassi sent from the Consulate to meet us, got together our caravan of ponies. We lodged in the Russian "Nomera," or "furnished apartments," a

residence far from clean, but luxurious in comparison with the hovels in which we slept later on.

It was the end of March when we set off towards the mountains, which we could see in the distance, but the 250-mile ride was by no means an unmixed pleasure, our ponies being in such poor condition that I think they would have broken down had we not walked constantly. The weather was fine, but as we mounted up into the hills it became cold in the morning and evening.

Our method of travelling was somewhat as follows:—We rose at half-past five, dressing hastily by the light of candles, while Jaffer Bai folded up our camp-beds and dragged out our holdalls and dressing-cases. Meanwhile, the cook was preparing breakfast, and the delicious Russian bread, butter and eggs, bought at Osh, lasted for the entire journey. At seven o'clock the caravan started, and as we were always ahead of it we made a midday halt for lunch, near a stream if possible, where the ponies could graze, and there waited until the baggage passed us. We then mounted and looked forward to tea and baths at the Russian post-houses, which boasted a couple of fairly clean, plastered rooms, often furnished with bedsteads, a table and stools, but had hardly any shelter for the pack-animals. This serious defect was remedied when we crossed into Chinese Turkestan, but travellers had to put up with dirty little mud rooms with a hole in the roof to admit light and air, and frequently prowling cats.

The crux of our journey was the Terek Diwan Pass in the Tian Shan Range, and my attire on this occasion was a blend of what would be suitable in the Tropics and the Arctic Circle, and both of us plastered our faces liberally with cold cream.

It was quite easy to negotiate the north side of the Pass as long as we kept to the beaten track, though if the ponies tried to pass one another they fell headlong in the deep snow on either side. Four hours' ride took us to the crest, where we had a glorious view of the Tian Shan and Alai Ranges, the "Celestial Mountains" among which we stood closing in round us like a sort of Gornegrat.

The descent was not nearly so pleasant, for the April sunshine had melted the snow into deep holes, at the bottom of which water ran over boulders. It needed wary walking on my part to save me from a twisted ankle or knee, but was almost impassable for the loaded ponies. The poor animals fell again and again, and though we ourselves reached the rest-house at one o'clock, it was nine o'clock before our caravan arrived with our bedding frozen and unuseable. The animals had taken thirteen hours to accomplish twelve miles, and I felt that if Russia had only made a rough mule-track, we should not have seen those countless skeletons of ponies and donkeys that bore eloquent testimony to the hardships of the road.

Irkishtan, the frontier village between Russian and Chinese Turkestan, is perched on a high cliff above the Kizil Su, the river that we learnt to know well at Kashgar. The broad stream was partially frozen over, and we had some difficulty in crossing it, as our ponies had to step down into the water from a shelf of ice and then clamber up on to an ice floe in the middle, but after this there were no further difficulties, only the discomfort of the Spring sand-storms that were in full blast in these barren regions.

The foothills got lower and lower until we emerged on to the Kashgar Plain and saw the green of the Oasis in the distance, and on April 10th we were among springing crops and trees in leaf, and after the dirty rest-houses it was a revelation to enter a well-ordered house with a countrywoman for hostess.

The Consulate, in a delightful terraced garden, overlooked the river, that with its two branches makes almost an island of Kashgar, and is the source of its fertility. The loess formation of the district is most picturesque, the high rocks being broken into fantastic forms, and when at sunset the tall poplars were silhouetted blackly against the sky, they looked like cypresses, and the mud shrines and mean dwellings, bathed in a quivering golden light, seemed changed into fairy palaces.

For several days after our arrival at Kashgar the sun was obscured by a haze of sand, and, indeed throughout our stay the atmosphere was seldom clear enough to enable us to see the snow-covered ranges that rise on all sides save to the east, where the desert reigns supreme.

Kashgar is a large, well-cultivated oasis on the edge of the Takla Makan Desert, and is inhabited by a mild race of peasant cultivators and little shopkeepers, who appear content with the easy rule of the Chinese. They are Sunni Mohammedans, but are not bigoted, and in appearance seemed half-way between the handsome Aryan races and the flat-faced, high cheek-boned Mongol. As Shaw, one of the first Englishmen who ever penetrated into Chinese Turkestan, puts it: "They are Tartarized Aryans."

The upper-class men had boldly-cut features with full beards and moustaches, and many of the young girls and children were charmingly pretty, reminding me of Italians or Spaniards.

Their dress was an orgy of colour. Men and women alike had embroidered skull-caps over which coloured velvet hats with fur brims were placed, and both sexes wore long, brilliantly-tinted coats and leather riding-boots. The women draped a white cotton shawl from the head to the feet with graceful effect, and had a short face-veil which they usually threw back over their velvet hats. We found them a friendly race, and encountered nothing but politeness on our daily rides.

The status of the women is decidedly superior to that of their Persian sisters. There is much more intercourse between the sexes,

women chaffering freely with men in the bazaars, and the wife is often spoken of as "Khan," or head of the household. She rides her horse or donkey, driving her stock before her to the market, where she transacts her own business, and in spite of the protests of the mollahs, she does not much attend to the Prophet's injunction anent the veiling of women.

There is, however, another side to the picture. Divorce is extremely common (anyone can get a divorce for fourpence), and is carried to such lengths that quite young girls have been married several times, and the custom of temporary marriages with traders is much in vogue.

There was a shrine on a ridge opposite the Consulate where women in want of a husband were wont to resort, the custom being to place their hands in holes made in the mud tomb while they were invoking the aid of this female saint—the Bibi Khanum, as they called her.

Of course there were plenty of shrines reputed to cure various maladies. The tiled entrance of one Mazar was covered with earth, the custom being for sufferers to fling lumps of wet mud at it, a cure being certain if the pellets stuck. In the courtyard of another shrine there was a huge old willow, bent nearly to the ground, this tree being beneficial for rheumatism. The patient had to go round the tree seven times, rubbing his back against the bark, and old Jaffer Bai, who was with us on the occasion of our visit, followed this simple prescription. I did not dare to ask him whether he had been cured of the pains in his back to which he told me he was subject!

We bought horses a few days after our arrival at Kashgar, and began to explore the town and its environs. I have never been in a pleasanter riding-country, for the sandy roads and lanes, without a stone, were shaded by avenues of willow and poplar growing along the irrigation-channels, and the eye rested on the vivid green of the young wheat and barley and lucerne crops. There were countless cross-country tracks, and the easily-forded river and loess cliffs gave so much variety that we could go a fresh ride nearly every day.

In spite of its antiquity Kashgar has hardly anything in the way of fine buildings, though it occupies the site of the old capital of Kie-Sha, visited by Hinen Tsang in the seventh century. The Chinese traveller speaks of the hundreds of Buddhist monasteries, but now the only remains of the old faith are two stupas to the north and south of the Consulate, both shapeless masses of rubble.

The quaint modern Chinese temple erected to the memory of General Panchau, the Celestial who led an army to the Caspian Sea, stood on the city wall. From it we got a fine view over the town, and were told that the wall was built by gangs of over-worked and under-fed slaves. If one of them died his corpse was built into the wet mud, and the legend haunted me when I stood on the wall, which is eighteen feet wide and has a high parapet.

The principal Mohammedan building was Hazrat Apak, with an imposing tile-covered façade, but it was not in any way equal to the beautiful shrines of Persia. The road leading to it is bordered for over a mile on either side by mud tombs, at which the women pray and weep on Fridays and Saturdays, and inside the shrine, Apak the Saint-King of Kashgar and sixty-nine of his family are buried in a crowded mass of tombs covered with blue and white tiles.

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The summer was unpleasantly hot in the Oasis, and as my brother had been invited by the Russian authorities to shoot ovis poli in the Pamirs, and also wished to visit Sarikol and its British subjects, we set off on a tour early in June.

My brother looked after our caravan, inspected tents, arranged for rations for the servants and barley and shoes for the horses, while on me devolved the task of packing stores to last for seven weeks, as we could count on nothing save meat and milk. I had hundreds of apricots stoned and dried on the Consulate roof, and made jam of the fruit, while the cook baked bread, cakes and biscuits, and packed eggs and vegetables. Bags were in readiness for rice, sugar, flour and so on, and the boxes had to be filled with care in order not to overload the ponies.

Just at this time Sir Aurel Stein arrived from a two years' stay in the Desert, bringing 150 cases of archæological treasures. It was with regret that we left such an interesting guest, but we were obliged to cross the Gez River before it rose with the melting of the snows, and Sir Aurel stayed on in the Consulate to repack his finds at leisure, and forward them to India.

We struck south until we entered the gloomy Gez Defile some sixty miles in length. In this part of the world no one comments on the weather, which is usually monotonously fine, the prime interest being the state of the water. We were fortunate in crossing the Gez in good time, before the "Great Water," which begins late in June, but even as it was, it was touch and go more than once with our baggage animals.

The old Beg of Tashmallik, who escorted us with his men, made me mount his own horse when the crossings were bad. We were obliged to negotiate the river four or five times a day, and at first it was somewhat alarming to feel one's horse slipping and stumbling in its efforts to find a footing on the rounded boulders which covered the bed of the stream. However, as one man held my rein, and another rode beside me to rescue me if my horse fell, I soon entered into the excitement of the scene, enjoying the sense of adventure.

The river crashed and hurled itself down over boulders, and above the hurly burly of the water the riders yelled to one another and to their horses, gesticulating wildly. I had to be careful not to look

at the swiftly flowing river, as the land ahead would seem to swim from me, but fixed my eyes on the riders.

The Defile got narrower as we proceeded, and was a scene of chaos and desolation, great boulders piled on one another in confusion, the barren hills rising sheer from the water giving a sense of imprisonment, and when we had crossed swaying native bridges and crept along narrow hill paths of loose shale, where a false step would have hurled us to destruction, it was a joy to see mighty Mustagh Ata standing up magnificently at the end of the Defile.

We emerged on to the shore of sand-filled Lake Bulunkul, and were now to travel in flat treeless valleys inhabited by Kirghiz, encountering nothing but snow-storms or sand-storms during the first week of our stay in these uplands, with their somewhat scanty grazing-grounds.

We found the Kirghiz a peaceful, hospitable race, well-built, with flat, rosy faces. The women were interested in me, and I had many lady visitors, all hard-featured and weather-beaten, except when quite young.

I lived for the most part in spacious *akhois*, the beehive-like erections covered with felts, save where a hole at the top admits light and air, not to say snow and rain, and lets out the pungent smoke of the fires. My visitors would squat on the floor, and while they drank tea sweetened with much sugar, I would observe their snowy head-gear, their brightly-coloured garments, and their characteristic jewellery of silver and coral.

Women are in a decided minority in the Pamirs and consequently valuable. A man must give a hundred sheep or their equivalent in live-stock to his would-be father-in-law if he wants to marry, and if he is poor often enters into a contract to serve his fiancée's father for a term of years, much as Jacob did for Rachel. He will marry the girl, but lives in her father's *akhoi* tending his flocks, and when the time is up he is given an *akhoi* and live-stock, and he and his wife live independently.

Divorce is practically unknown among these nomads, and usually a man has only one wife, but I was told that sometimes he takes a second when urgently begged to do so by his first wife, who finds the work too heavy for her. Certainly the value of a good wife must be "above rubies." She tends and milks the animals, makes cream, cheese, curds, and the acrid *koumiss*, and does all the cooking. There is mending and washing to be done, felts and woollen ropes and in some districts carpets to be made, while, of course, on her depends the rearing of the children. These were conspicuous by their absence, and I was told that few babies born during the long winter survive the rigours of the climate.

The men have all the amusement that is to be had. When guests arrive the men eat with them, but the women merely prepare the

banquet, and this is the case at weddings and funeral feasts. These latter are accompanied by horse-races with prizes, the idea being that the dead man is giving the entertainment and disposing of property no longer of use to him. The men do a certain amount of shooting, slaying *ovis poli* during the winter, and constantly amusing themselves with the "goat game" in the summer.

From these grassy uplands of Chinese Turkestan we made our way to the Katta Dewan Pass, which we crossed in a mild kind of blizzard, stumbling in the newly-fallen snow, but delighted to have reached the Russian Pamirs. From the crest of the Pass we got a view of the Great Karakul Lake, by which we camped for the next few days, and on our way there had our first glimpse of *ovis poli*, the sheep, large as donkeys, that inhabit the Roof of the World.

We were now in the Pamir of the Hare, a dreary region with hardly any grazing. The Karakul Lake was ringed with superb mountains among which rose the magnificent Peak Kaufmann, and its intensely blue waters were streaked with purple and green. It is salt and stagnant, and has a band of salt efflorescence on its shores, making the ground so rotten that one of our horses was nearly "bogged."

Sport was not good here, so my brother decided to proceed to Pamirsky Post, a ninety-mile ride along the Russian cart-road, through one of the most desolate regions imaginable. When we reached the Russian fort we were warmly welcomed by the Cossack captain, and I felt sorry for him and his men planted in such an inhospitable spot. The fort stood on a cliff above the Murgabi, one of the head-waters of the classic Oxus, and our host said that the *ovis poli* came down in winter to graze on the river banks. He and my brother discussed where the best heads were to be found, and a three days' caravanning brought us to the long valley of Witchkul, where my brother was successful, getting four heads in all.

We were camping at about 14,000 feet, and I found the elevation rather trying, as I panted at the least exertion, felt always tired, and had a feeling as if a hand were pressing on my throat, but when we left the Roof of the World my energy and appetite returned to me with a rush, and I felt delightfully fit.

The climate was also trying, as it was very cold in the early morning and evening, while the sun was unpleasantly hot in the middle of the day. If I dispensed with wraps an icy blast would be certain to come from the mountains, and the frequent storms in the hills visited us in the form of smart showers of snow and rain.

As to the scenery, Sir Francis Younghusband has vividly described it in "The Heart of a Continent." He explains how the valleys are choked up with the moraines of glaciers of countless centuries ago, so that, as he puts it, "The lowest valleys are the height of re-

spectable Alps." This makes communications easy, and once over the Katta Dewan Pass we could almost have driven the whole way.

But this elevation detracts considerably from the majesty of the mountain ranges, and it was only when we were on the lower levels that we could properly appreciate their real height. I shall never forget standing on the shore of Little Karakul Lake and gazing at the stupendous mountain barrier separating us from Kashgar.

Great Mustagh Ata and its twin giant, called Kungur by the natives, rose up 25,000 feet, dominating the long range of peak behind peak, all superb in their covering of eternal snow. It was a scene to take one's breath away, and my memories of the Swiss Alps, the Canadian Rockies, the Elburz, and the Caucasus left the Mustagh Range unsurpassed.

While in camp near this wonderful vision we resolved to reach the lowest glacier on the dome-shaped Father of the Snows, Mustagh Ata, a mountain which we had seen from all sides and regarded with immense admiration.

It was my first experience of riding the grunting yak, and I found it a comfortable steed, though its progress was slow. A Kirghiz led it by a rope through the nose, and implored me in dumb show to belabour its shaggy sides when it hung back, though I doubt whether it felt the beating, so thick were its tufts of hair.

With much grunting and gnashing of the teeth it reached the great glacier, stumbling now and again but always recovering itself, and picking its way most cleverly among the boulders that littered the moraine. It was interesting to stand in front of that immensely thick curtain of ice and feel that the crest of Mustagh Ata was inaccessible as yet to any human being. Our Kirghiz guides complained of headache, and we heard afterwards that they fear to venture alone on the mountain, as it is reputed to be haunted by white camels and by the sound of drums—possibly avalanches.

When it was time to return I tried to walk, but it was impossibly steep, so I remounted my yak, in which I placed great confidence. My brother's animal led off round the side of the mountain, but my Kirghiz pulled the nose-rope, and before I realized what was happening, I was going down a veritable "side of a house" to where the glacier stream lay far below. Expostulation was useless, so I rammed my feet into the stirrups and clung to the pommel of the native saddle, my heart being in my mouth when the yak performed the descent in a series of slides, landing me in safety at the bottom.

My last experience of yaks was not agreeable. We had to cross the difficult Ulughat Pass between 16,000 feet and 17,000 feet, and our mounts jibbed again and again, hanging over the precipice in a most unpleasant manner. My brother was in worse plight than I was, for his saddle ropes broke twice, and though he passed the

thong of his riding-whip round his yak's horns, yet I was by no means certain that that would save him from an abrupt descent on to the glacier below.

Just before the summit the track went straight up among rocks, and I put my feet on either side my yak's neck, as these animals brush close to any obstacle. A Kirghiz pony led in front of me fell, could not regain its footing, and slid right down upon my mount, that stood four-square and received the impact nobly: if I had been on a horse we should certainly have come to grief.

The mountain panorama at the crest of the Pass was magnificent, but as I was enjoying it I had my only attack of mountain-sickness, a curious mixture of splitting headache, nausea, and faintness. But time presses, and I must refrain from telling of the Aryans of Tashkurgan and many another detail of the never-to-be-forgotten time when I had the great privilege of visiting the Roof of the World.

The CHAIRMAN said that Miss Sykes had shown herself possessed of two unusual qualities for a lecturer. She went and saw things for herself, even at great risk, and she came back and told the story in a plain and attractive way. He had greatly enjoyed the lecture, and he was sure they had all done the same.

Mr. YUSUF ALI said they had heard from Miss Sykes of a large Mahomedan shrine in High Asia being visited by the people on Fridays and Saturdays. In India, Moslem shrines were frequented on Thursday evenings, as a preparation for Friday, and, of course, on Fridays. This was the case in other parts of the Mahomedan world, and he would like to know how a different custom arose in Chinese Turkestan.

Miss SYKES replied that she was told that the Kashgaris had taken a great many customs from the Chinese. For example, the custom of weeping and praying at the tombs was much more a Chinese than a Moslem custom.

Colonel Sir HENRY TROTTER said he happened to be one of the first travellers to measure Mustagh Ata, and he made it 25,000 feet. But later on members of the Pamirs Survey Expedition put it a good deal lower. He was pleased to gather from the lecture that it still stood at 25,000 feet.

Miss SYKES replied that she did not intend to express any opinion on the subject in mentioning the height. She took the figure from Younghusband's "In the Heart of a Continent," judging that authority to be quite good enough.

The CHAIRMAN said he would express to Miss Sykes their thanks, and the hope that they would see her at the Society again.

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THE RED KARENS

By SIR GEORGE SCOTT, K.C.I.E.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR MORTIMER DURAND, the Chairman, presided at a meeting of the Society on February 16, 1916. He said that Sir George Scott had kindly agreed to give them a paper on "The Red Karens of Burma." Thirty years ago Sir George joined the Burma Commission, and there was probably nobody living who knew more about the country. They were sure that what he told them would be very interesting.

The country of the Red Karens lies to the south of the Shan States, in the hills east of the Burma districts of Toungoo and Yamèthin. The last spurs of the Eastern Himalaya are here crushed in between the Salween River and the plains of Burma. There are five States, with a total area of 3,000 square miles, and, except for a small portion of the north of Western Karenni, the whole country is a jumble of hills. A narrow strip of Eastern Karenni runs down the left bank of the Salween River, and borders on Siam. Otherwise, the whole area is surrounded by British territory. Nevertheless, Karenni does not form a part of British India, and is not subject to the laws in force in Burma and in the Shan States. The chiefs are, however, under the supervision of the Superintendent of the Southern Shan States, who controls the election of chiefs and the appointment of officials, and has the power to call for cases, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma exercises the powers of a High Court.

The reason for this independence of the States is somewhat curious. The Red Karens, whatever they may have become since, were a very troublesome lot in the sixties of last century. The territory of the Karen tribes on the south and south-west marched with our old British Burma frontier. On the north of the Papun district there were practically no inhabitants at all. East of the Toungoo district the tribes were mostly Brè, who, though they were quarrelsome enough among themselves, never interfered with us. But in the north, where the Red Karens proper were settled, they came in contact with the Burmese garrisons of the Shan States, and had no respect whatever for

them. They raided when it suited them, carried off cattle and peaceful villagers, and defied all attempts of the Burmese to penetrate into their hills.

Just about this time, too, King Mindón, the father of King Thibaw, had realized that there was a great deal of money to be made out of teak, and he made it a royal monopoly. There was very fine teak in Karenni, and, partly to get possession of these forests, and partly because it was annoying and exasperating to have his Shan subjects periodically carried off to be sold as slaves, he made preparations to attack the Red Karens in earnest. But in the meantime some Burmans and others who were settled among the Red Karens, and were also interested in teak, entered into communications with the British Burma Government, and the result was that Sir Douglas Forsyth went to Mandalay and concluded a treaty with the Government of the King of Burma, whereby we guaranteed the independence of the Karenni States against ourselves or any third party.

A British party actually went up into Karenni, and erected boundary pillars in the flat country in the extreme north of the tract. They did not remain very long. An estimable Shan chief, who then held a commission as a Burmese General, lost no time in pulling them down as soon as the British party had left. He is now a Member of Council of the Burma Government; but the pillars have never been put up again, and, as a matter of fact, are not needed. Things went on very much as they did before. Some very fine teak was floated down the Salween to Moulmein; the Red Karens made periodical raids far north into the Shan States, and carried off monks and women and children, for all the world as if they were *Kultur'd* Germans; and the Burmese made fitful attempts to punish them, but were always beaten back at the passes.

Then came the reign of King Thibaw, when everything went to ruin in the Shan States. We were not in a hurry taking over charge there after the annexation, but, when we did, letters were sent to the Red Karen chiefs telling them that their States and their rule would be guaranteed to them. There are five of these chiefs altogether, but only one of them is of any considerable importance. Sawlapaw, the chief of Eastern Karenni, was a notable old savage, with a taste in musical boxes and carved elephant tusks. In addition to the fact that he had been able to defeat all Burmese attempts to reduce him to submission, he had for a year or two been supporting a Shan chief who had been driven from his State by King Thibaw, and had taken refuge in Rangoon. While he was there, this chief got it into his head that there was a plot against his life, and shot two of his followers. For this he was tried, and sentenced to death. The death sentence was commuted, and he ground wheat for a time in the Rangoon Central Jail. Then he was released on condition that he never entered British

territory again, and he went to stay with Sawlapaw, the Red Karen chief. When the Third Burmese War broke out, Sawlapaw fitted out his guest with men and guns, and the ex-convict soon recovered possession of his State for himself. He was wise enough to make immediate submission to the British Government, and did very well for himself afterwards.

But the Red Karen did not profit by his example. He was as full of brag as a Prussian *Kraut Junker*, and as ignorant as a Silesian peasant. He thought he could go on stealing cattle and making slave-raids just as if affairs were the same as in Burmese times. He raided and burnt a Shan capital, and put sums of money on the heads of sundry British officers. All warnings were disregarded, and the result was that he collapsed with the suddenness and the certainty of a church spire within range of German guns.

A successor was elected without any trouble, and the Red Karens have been very quiet ever since. The change has been absolutely startling. Half a century ago the Red Karen was a swaggering bully, and a terror to all the peaceful villagers within a range of a hundred miles. He went nowhere without his gun, and he always had, in addition, a handful of spears or javelins. Now guns are never to be seen, and it is nearly impossible to buy javelins as curios. They are depressed and sombre, but it is not wise for any Burman or Shan to think that they are cowed. They will very soon find that the Red Karen is as good a man at a fight as ever he was, and, though he may not start one, will be perfectly ready to take one up.

The Red Karens are only one section, and not a very numerous one, of the Karen race, which, next to the Burmese, is the most strongly represented in Burma. They were not invaders, like the Talaing, and the Burmese, and the Kachins, and the Tai or Shans. They did not come as a conquering swarm, nor even, so far as we have been able to learn, all at one time. They seem rather to have drifted in over hill passes and down valleys in bands strong enough to protect themselves, but not in force enough to seize lands where the population was not prepared to give up possession without a fight. They claim to have settled in the neighbourhood of Ava about the fifth or sixth century of our era, but there is nothing to prove it, and, anyhow, they seem soon to have been driven south, and to have spread over the hills between the Irrawaddy, the Salween, and the Mênâm. They now occupy the Central Pegu Yoma range in Lower Burma, and the eastern slopes of the Arakan Yoma range to the west of the Irrawaddy Delta. They extend from Mergui to Toungoo, and form the chief population of the south-western section of the Shan States, and certainly have all Karenni to themselves.

They belong to the Chinese-Siamese sub-family, and it is probable that they were driven out by the Tai when the Tai were a great nation,

with a capital at Nan Chao or Talifu. The general theory is that their language is Chinese, but not descended from it, and that they are pre-Chinese, and not aboriginal in their present homes, or Tibetan, or descendants of the lost Ten Tribes, as enthusiastic missionaries would have us believe.

It is, perhaps, unnecessary to say that the name Karen, by which we know them, is not a national name at all. It is just as much the wrong name for them as Shan is for the Tai, Talaing for the Môn, Kachins for the Jingpaw, or Chins for the Sho. It is not even a Chinese nickname. The Chinese are responsible for half the fancy names which are given to the Indo-Chinese races. It was a harmless form of *Kultur* with them. But the trouble is that the Karens themselves have no national comprehensive name for themselves. They have nothing but tribal names, and, in fact, disown all connection with most of their tribal branches with primitive violence of speech and total disregard for the researches and vocabularies of learned philologists, who divide them into three main divisions: the Sgaw, the Pwo, and the Bghai or Bwè. These are certainly Karen names, but they do not carry us very far, for Sgaw simply means male and Pwo female, and the reference is to a prehistoric tribal quarrel which led to the prohibition of inter-marriage and social intercourse. Sir George Grierson has had his revenge on them, for he has decided that Karen is not a group of languages, but of dialects, spoken in patois which vary to an extraordinary degree.

Roughly speaking, the Sgaw and Pwo dialects are confined to Lower Burma, while the Bghai is spoken by the tribes of the north and east. The Bghai dialect includes that of the Red Karens, and has a large number of separate roots, and it may be taken to represent Karen in its oldest and purest form. All the dialects are tonic, and are believed to have the same five tones. The popular classification of the race divides them into the White Karens and the Red Karens. This is convenient, though it is hardly very descriptive as far as complexion or colour of skin is concerned; but in build they are very distinct. The White Karen is of heavier, squarer build than the Burman, and much more stolid. He is, in fact, a sort of picture-poster representation of the comic paper's view of the German Professor. His skin is fairer than the Burman, and he has more of the Mongolian tilt of the eye. About a generation ago they were converted in great numbers to Christianity, and there was much talk about quasi-Biblical traditions that were current among them, as well as old prophecies. These may have been derived from the old Nestorian settlements in China, but a very great deal requires to be learnt about them yet. The White Karens are credited with truthfulness and chastity, but they are very dirty, and drink heavily. In disposition they are heavy, suspicious, and absolutely devoid of humour, like the German professor.

The Red Karen is of an entirely different physical type. The men are small and wizened, but very wiry. They have broad, reddish-brown faces, and long heads, with the obliquity of the eye perhaps accentuated. It was the invariable custom of the men to have the rising sun tattooed in bright vermilion on the small of the back, and perhaps this gave rise to the name of Red Karen. Perhaps, also, it may have been due to the short breeches they wear, reaching to the knee. These were red when new, but they were not long in turning to a dingy black, and some of the shorts looked as if they had been handed down as family heirlooms. The trousers fastened with a leather belt. Some wear an open, sleeveless, dark-coloured coat, but perhaps the greater number wear instead a cotton blanket striped red and white, and thrown over the shoulders. In hot weather, both coat and blanket are discarded. Some sort of a handkerchief is generally twisted round the hair, which is tied in a knot on the top of the head. There are plenty of hill-streams in Karenni, but the people never use them, and the Red Karens are conspicuous among hill people for their dirtiness. In fact, they run the Wild Wa very close, whose griminess is only limited by the extent to which matter in the wrong place refuses to adhere to the human skin. As far as drink is concerned, they probably excel the White Karens. In the old days, when Mr. O'Reilly and others were engaged in prospecting the teak-forests, it was stated that a Red Karen never went out of doors without a bamboo full of liquor slung over his back. From this a tube led to his mouth, and he was able to go about his ordinary avocations without wasting any time. It is not easy to say whether this was strictly accurate, but at any rate it is not the custom nowadays. Lately, in fact, they have been converted by whole villages at a time to Christianity. They show complete impartiality in the matter, and join equally the Roman Catholic, the American Baptist, and the Presbyterian communions. It is much to be regretted that they show towards one another all the zeal and intolerance of perverts. They are very fond of music, and frequently have village brass bands; and it is on record that villages of rival faiths on opposite sides of a valley met on one occasion in the middle, and broke one another's heads and the band instruments with fanatical enthusiasm.

Nevertheless, of the 30,000 or so Red Karens who have been counted at the last census, a very considerable number are still spirit-worshippers, and even those who are converted keep up the customary rites and sacrifices as they did before their conversion. This is all the easier, and is the less interfered with by their pastors, because, like most spirit-worshippers, they trouble themselves very little about the *nats* as long as all goes well. There are temples or shrines erected to the spirits in all villages of any size, usually under the shade of a large single tree or of a dense clump of trees. They

are placed in charge of a selected old man of the village, who is allowed certain privileges, and as a rule conducts the ceremony of consulting the chicken-bones. Except at Sawlôn, these spirit-shrines are merely small bamboo and thatch sheds of insignificant appearance. In them are deposited the offerings to the spirits in the shape of rice, tobacco, fruit, and the like. The only large spirit-house in the country is the one at Sawlôn, the capital of Eastern Karenni. It is a massive timber building, sixty or seventy feet long, profusely gilt, and decorated in Shan fashion. Sawlapaw used it chiefly as a treasure-house, and none but he himself and his relations of the blood were allowed to enter it. The spirit-houses, in fact, seem never to be the scenes of worship, even at the two national festivals of the Spring and the Autumn.

The chief feature of the Spring festival of Kuto-bo, as they call it, is the erection of a post in or near each village. A new post is set up each year. The old ones are left standing, but are not renewed if they fall or decay. In most villages bamboos are thought good enough, but in the capitals and a few of the larger towns thirty or forty feet long tree-trunks are set up. The tree is chosen by consulting the chicken-bones, and is rough-hewn where it is felled and adorned with a rudely carved capital, which varies in pattern. The log is then dragged to the place where it is to be put up, and if, as frequently happens, it cannot be got there in a single day, the conveying party sleep alongside it at night, for it is imperative that no man or animal shall step over it. Technically, one ought to be able to determine the age of a village by these Kuto-bo posts, but white ants or natural decay soon make an end of them. When the post is hoisted into position there is a general sort of maypole dance to the accompaniment of drums and gongs, and then there is much eating of pig and drinking of liquor supplied for the common enjoyment by those villagers who are able to afford it. The portions of the sacrifices to the *nats* deposited in the spirit-houses are the head, ears, legs, and entrails, so that, in the case of a domestic fowl, the amount left to be consumed by the family is satisfactorily large.

Fowls' bones are the Red Karen's dictionary, encyclopædia, and Where-is-it book. He consults them to know where he should pitch his village or his house; whether he should start on a journey, in what direction, on what day, and at what hour; whether he should marry a certain girl, and, if so, on what day; where he should make his hill clearing; when he should clear, sow, and reap it; in fact, he does nothing without authority from fowls' bones, and the fact that he is technically a Roman Catholic, a Baptist, or a Presbyterian, does not seem to make any difference. When a chief dies, fowls' bones are consulted to decide upon his successor. This was actually done, since the British occupation, on the death of Hkun Bya, the chief

of Kyèbogyi. It was generally believed that Hkun Po, the nephew of the deceased, would succeed; but the bones declared against him, and in favour of his younger brother, Hkun U, who was formally elected. There is, however, a certain method in the process. Sons have the first right to try the fates; if they fail, then follow the brothers of the deceased chief, and after them the nephews. There are, however, signs of matriarchy in the fact that it is always left to the mother to choose by what name her child is to be known. She consults the chicken-bones to learn whether, in the case of a son, it would be lucky to name him after her grandfather, or after her grandmother if the infant is a girl. If the bones are unfavourable, then the father has the chance of perpetuating the name of his ancestors.

The women wear a short skirt reaching to the knee. It is usually dark coloured, but sometimes red. The rest of the dress consists of a broad piece of black cloth, which passes over the back across the right shoulder, and is then draped over the bosom and confined at the waist by a white girdle tied in front, the ends hanging down with more or less grace according to the newness of the material. Round the waist and neck are ropes of barbaric beads, and seeds of grasses and shrubs, and a profusion of these also decorate the leg just above the calf, which is encircled by innumerable garters of black cord or lacquered rattan. These, with the seeds, stand out some two inches or so from each sturdy limb. The result is that the women walk like a pair of compasses. They have also considerable difficulty in sitting down, and always do so with their legs stretched straight in front of them, a position which is highly shocking to the Burmese and Shan mind. Necklaces of rupees hang round the throats of those who are well to do, and a piece of black cloth thrown jauntily over the head finishes the costume, which is quite picturesque when it is new.

The Red Karens live in their five States in a compact block, but west of them, in the hills over Burma, there are a number of allied clans, who disown the connection, and are disowned by the Red Karens, but, nevertheless, are undoubtedly Karens, and connect gradually with the White Karens of the plains. There are a very considerable number of them, but the chief are the Manö, the Brè(k), and the Padaungs or Kèkawngdu. The women mostly wear the gaberline of the White Karens—a sort of poncho-like garment slipped over the head. It is something like a lady's dressing-sack, except that the sleeves are either rudimentary or do not exist at all. It reaches mid-thigh, and is considered all that is necessary by some of the clanswomen, though some wear a short kirtle which reaches within a hand's-breadth of the knee. The great characteristic is the garters, if leg-rings which support nothing can be called garters. Sometimes they are bunched together like the Red Karen women's;

sometimes, as in the case of the Zalun women, solid brass circlets like large curtain-rings are fastened through the lacquer leglets, and festoon themselves round the calf. Others wear brass rod coiled round the leg from the ankle up to a few inches from the knee, or even right up to the knee; others, again, add to this coils beginning above the knee, and reaching halfway up the thigh. Similar coils of brass rod are worn twisted round the whole forearm by the Lamung and other tribeswomen. In some places separate rings, both on arms and legs, are worn, instead of one continuous coil. Practically all wear ear-plugs or cylinders in the ears, distending the flesh to the utmost limit. They are of every sort of material, from mere wood up to chased silver, according to the fortunes of the family. The armlets and leg cinctures are, however, always of brass, and never of silver. A bevy of these damsels would command a good deal of money at Krupp's just now, especially the Padaung women, who add extraordinary collars to the coils on the arms and legs. These neck-bands are formed of brass rod as thick as one's little finger. They are wound round the girls' necks as early as possible, usually when they are ten or eleven years old. Five coils are about all that can be got on as a commencement, and fresh coils are added as the girl grows, so that the neck is constantly kept on the stretch until the ordinary limit of twenty-one coils is reached. In addition to the actual neck-band, there is a sort of bottom layer which softens the bend of the curve to the shoulders, and inevitably suggests a champagne bottle. At the back of the neck, fastened through the wider coil, is a smaller ring about the size of a curtain ring standing at right angles. This suggests a possible tying up of the ladies to prevent them from gadding about, but it is not known whether this is the object. In addition to the neck-band, similar coils of brass rod are worn on the legs and arms. The total weight of metal carried by the average woman is fifty or sixty pounds, and some manage as much as eighty. With all this weight they carry water for household use, hoe the fields, and go long distances to village markets to sell liquor, carried in woven bamboo bottles lacquered over, and dispensed in woven bamboo cups. The fashion does not seem to affect the health, for there are plenty of white-haired old crones, and families of eight or ten are quite common. The only noticeable effect is that the women speak as if someone had an arm tight round their necks.

There are some who think that the Padaungs are not Karens at all, but belong to the Môn-Hkmer group; but their language has a strong resemblance to Taungthu, which is almost certainly connected with the Pwo Karen. The Padaungs, however, alone of the people in the Karenni country, have perfect liberty of marriage. All the other clans practise strict endogamy, and intermarry only with their own stock. But there are not many married out of their own tribe,

though many of the Kèkawngdu girls are quite good-looking. Possibly a consideration of the weight of metal they carry on their arms dissuades suitors.

Among the other clans, however, there are very strict rules of endogamy, and the penalties used to be very severe. A large hole was dug in the ground; across this a log was placed, to which two ropes were fastened. The ends of these were noosed round the necks of the man and woman, and they were made to jump into the pit, and so hanged themselves. Now the custom is to excommunicate the woman, and both are forbidden ever to enter their native village again. There are said to be two villages in the hills entirely inhabited by eloping couples.

The general rule is that only cousins, or only the inhabitants of certain groups of villages, may intermarry, and contracts of the kind have to be approved by the elders. As soon as a boy has attained the age of puberty, he is sent to live with the other unmarried youths in a building called the Young Man's *Haw*, which stands on the outskirts of the village. There he stays until he is married. He is supposed not to talk to the women of the village until that time. The limitations on possible alliances are so considerable that in some places there are many decrepit bachelors in the *Haws*, and many grey-haired spinsters in the village huts. The only occasions on which the lads and lasses meet are marriages and wakes. These are regular Homeric orgies. Both sexes are seasoned, since they begin drinking strong drink before they are weaned, and staid married people shake their heads over the amount of flirtation which goes on between the unencumbered at these festivals.

The unmarried youths wear a special dress, varying with the clans. Some have coquettish shell jackets, decorated with seeds or cowries; almost all have necklets of coloured beads, seeds, or cornelians, most commonly with two or more boar's tusks fastened round the neck. Large ear-cylinders swell out the lobes, and a few of the Loilong clan wear a sort of coronet adorned with cowries and rabbit's tails, and an aigrette of rice-stalk or feathered grass. On the forearm, also, some wear coils of brass, and others wear brass torques round the neck. When the man marries, all this finery is transferred to the person of his wife, or kept for the first son. At any rate, it is no longer worn by the husband, so that bachelors are very conspicuous, and the fact that many of them are middle-aged is indisputable.

The reason for the endogamy is not given. Probably the first cause has been forgotten. It is certainly not because there is much wealth to keep in the family, nor is it very obviously because the neighbouring communities profess different creeds. Many of the women are distinctly comely; they would also be fair-skinned if they ever washed themselves. Some would be quite pretty if they went

through that formality occasionally. It is possible, therefore, that the desire is to keep their women to themselves, for the Shan women have charms that are not so much facial as substantial.

The Banyang people are the most distressingly rigid. Marriages are only possible within the limits of the village fence. Formerly, an official of the State went every year to arrange an alliance, so that there should be at least one marriage in the twelvemonth. He ordered a couple to be married, and married they were, just as a man might be sworn of the peace. There was no hint of marriages of inclination. They were all, as it were, officially gazetted alliances. Occasionally, it is said, the bridegroom had to be taken by force to the bridal chamber. The police, however, having effected this, kept him there for three days and three nights. The village provided the bridal feast from which the man was taken, so that possibly the seeming want of gallantry was due to incapacity to go, or reluctance to leave too early. The lady caroused all alone.

All these clans consider themselves quite distinct from the Red Karens, and cordially dislike them, but it is quite common in hilly countries for isolated groups to develop differences, both in speech, customs, and even in appearance. Except for the Padaungs, however, they are undoubtedly of the Karen race, and it will no doubt eventually be proved that the Taungthu are also really Karens. If so, the Red Karens will be outnumbered by the other clans to the amount of about fifteen to one. Nevertheless, they remain the most compactly settled and the most sturdy of their race. They have always been fairly well to do. In the old days they made a good deal of money by slave-raiding. Most of their victims were sold over in Siam or in the Lao States. Then they made very large sums of money by the sale of their teak. It mostly got into the hands of a few only. One chief is credited with having emulated a magpie in burying huge sums in a variety of places in his State. Nevertheless, the general population profited a good deal in the way of feasts and largess, and all would have gone well if they had not been so spendthrift of their resources. Every single teak-tree, large or small, was felled. Forest and other British officers gave plenty of warnings, but Karenni was outside of British India, and the good advice was received in the usual way, with the remark that posterity would have to look out for itself. The country is not very large, and the teak was soon exhausted, and there seemed a possibility that the Red Karen might have to take to cattle-lifting and elephant-stealing again. But fortune favoured them again, and the development of the tin and wolfram mines at Mawchi, in the southern portion of the country, seems likely to bring a very great deal of money into the country. There are other valuable mineral deposits, but the heart-breaking character of the hills prevents anything like rapid development.

Sir GEORGE SCOTT, in replying to the discussion, said that Major-General Tighe might be described as the conqueror of the Karenni. He was known throughout the country as "Bo Tai"—Bo meaning leader. He went out on one occasion with a small party of mounted infantry to look for a good encamping-ground, and was attacked by the Red Karens. He promptly went for them with his forty troopers. They rode down the large body of tribesmen, and scattered them over the plain, killing many and taking at least 300 prisoners. The Red Karens had such an unpleasant experience on that occasion that they never ventured to make a stand subsequently, even when in good positions. Therefore "Bo Tai" might be considered the conqueror of the Karens, and they all hoped that he would be equally successful in East Africa. (Cheers.)

Colonel A. C. YATE said he felt called upon to speak, because it was his old regiment, the 127th (Queen Mary's Own) Baluch Light Infantry, which was employed in the cold weather of 1888-89 in annexing the Red Karen country, and also because Sir George Scott and he were engaged at one and the same time in the task of annexing the Cis-Salween Shan States. At that time the Englishman who did not know the name of "Shwe Yo" was not to be found in Burma, for it was under that *nom de plume* that Sir George Scott wrote what was still recognized to be one of the very best books on Burma—"The Burman: His Life and Notions." In the cold weather of 1887-88 Sir George White sent him (Colonel Yate) to accompany, as Intelligence Officer, the Northern Shan Column; and when that work was completed, he paid a visit to the Southern Shan Column, and there met Mr. (now Sir George) Scott, and attended the Durbar at which Mr. Hildebrand announced to the assembled Shan chiefs that in future the Cis-Salween States would form part of Her Majesty's dominions. The best account of the Red Karen Expedition, which followed a year later, is to be found in Sir Charles Crosthwaite's "Pacification of Burma," in which appreciative reference is made to the part played by Sir George Scott. Some of the young officers of the 127th Baluchis who served in that Expedition were doing notable work in the present War. The Press talked much of Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien in connection with East Africa, though he never got there; but the man who had borne the brunt of the day out there was Major-General M. J. Tighe, who had been holding his own on the defensive, though beset by many difficulties. General Smuts, when he arrived on the scene, would, with augmented forces, have a comparatively easy task before him. Major-General Tighe was a subaltern commanding the Baluch Mounted Infantry in the Red Karen Expedition, and having distinguished himself there, was awarded the D.S.O. In the same Expedition Surgeon Crimmin won the V.C. After Lieutenant Tighe had ridden through and scattered the Karens, Dr. Crimmin found

himself alone in charge of some wounded in the jungle. A number of Karens collected round and threatened the wounded. It was only his coolness and courage, almost unaided, that enabled him, with his revolver, to keep them off. Sir George Scott mentioned that Sawlôn, the Red Karen capital, abounded in musical boxes and elephant tusks. The Baluchis being a very healthy set, Dr. Crimmin had his doolies on his hands. He thought it a pity to waste them, and so just packed in them as many elephant tusks as the doolie-bearers could stand. He left the musical boxes to the Karens. Lieutenant Price, who also accompanied the Karen Expedition, and won his D.S.O. in Burma, was now Brigadier-General commanding at Aden, an onerous post which had been repeatedly threatened and attacked by the Turks. Lieutenant Fowler was the third subaltern of the 127th who had gone ahead since those days, and was now believed to be fighting in Mesopotamia. He and Sir George Scott in 1887 or 1888, supported by one or two men of the Rifle Brigade, bluffed and held up Twet-nga-lu's garrison at Moné. It was a most plucky act. The V.C. has been given for less. It was a pleasure to meet Sir George Scott once again, and to be reminded of days which, though distant, had not lost their fascination and interest. Once in the interim Sir George Scott and he had met. It was when Sir George received knighthood at the hands of Lord Curzon at the Delhi Coronation Durbar of 1903.

Sir FREDERIC FRYER said he was very glad that Sir George had been induced to read them a paper on the subject of the Red Karens, for there was no one better acquainted than he with all the races who inhabited the Shan States from end to end. He had served in the States, both Northern and Southern, almost uninterruptedly for nearly twenty years. It is very desirable that we should have on record full accounts of the manners and customs and traditions of the inhabitants of the Shan States before they were modified or passed away, in consequence of communications with Burma becoming closer. On the occasions of his own visits to the Shan States he had been impressed by the wonderful sight of the representatives of many different tribes assembled on bazaar days in their varied costumes. Of all these different people, he thought the most remarkable were the ladies whom Sir George Scott had described as wearing brass rings round their necks. One would think it a most painful and cumbersome form of ornament, and he fancied the ladies themselves would be very glad when custom allowed them to get rid of these brass rings. The manner and customs of the Shan States had had a very great exponent in Sir George Scott, who had always made it his business to collect as much information regarding these matters as he was able to do, and his opportunities in this respect were very considerable. They owed a great deal to the labours of Sir George in elucidating the ideas and habits of the tribes.

The CHAIRMAN: You will all agree that Sir George Scott has given us an exceedingly interesting paper. To me it was especially interesting, for personal reasons. Lately I have been going through the rather melancholy task of sorting, and in large measure destroying, the papers of my father (Sir Henry Marion Durand), which go back into the early thirties of the last century. Only yesterday I was going through a number of papers connected with the country of which we have been hearing. In the early forties my father represented the British Government in that part of the world, being what was called in those days Commissioner of Tenasserim. I see that he struck across to the Salween, and went through a good deal of the Karen country, and describes these very people. I was rather surprised to hear Sir George Scott speak of them as being so courageous, and able to give so good an account of themselves. What I was reading yesterday went to show that they were much oppressed, and exceedingly humble, calling themselves the insects of the hills. I have no doubt that there have been changes since then, and also that the Karens differ in different parts of the country. We have heard how the Karen ladies seem to wear their corsage round their necks. This quaint habit existed in my father's time.

THE ASHIRÉT HIGHLANDS OF HAKKIARI (MESOPOTAMIA)

By EDGAR T. A. WIGRAM

At a meeting of the Society on March 15, 1916, with Sir Frederic Fryer in the chair, Mr. Edgar T. A. Wigram read a paper, illustrated by lantern views, on this subject. In introducing him, the Chairman said that Mr. Wigram's brother, a missionary of the Church of England, had been resident in those regions for some ten years past. It was in the course of a visit to him that Mr. Wigram obtained the knowledge of the country which he was about to use for their benefit. He believed that the photographs for the illustrations they were about to see were mostly taken by the lecturer.

Mr. Wigram's address was as follows :

We may form some rough mental conception of the general lie of the land in southern Asiatic Turkey by picturing it as a classical theatre, with its auditorium facing south-west. It is formed of a low, flat arena (or orchestra, as the Greeks would term it), half enclosed to the northward and eastward by a semicircular arc of lofty mountainous plateaux. The arena is Turkish Arabia—Mesopotamia and the Syrian desert—a dead, level plain, almost entirely alluvial, and nowhere rising more than a few hundred feet above the level of the sea. The plateaux which enclose it comprise Anatolia and Armenia to the northward, and Iran, or Persia, to the eastward—a continuous sweep of rugged tableland averaging some 5,000 feet above sea-level, and seamed with a network of mountain ranges which attain to a height of 10,000 feet or more.

The step from the plain to the plateau is very abrupt and definitive; and this abruptness is emphasized by a bold range of mountains which is drawn, like a huge saw-toothed parapet, right along the whole rim of the plateau. At its western extremity this range is known as the Taurus, and that name is now often used loosely to include all the central chain as well. But to the Greeks and Romans this central range was Niphates; and perhaps we may still call it so, for a modern generic name seems lacking. The peaks are now only known collectively as the mountains of Kurdistan.

It is in this central portion that the range attains its greatest elevation, and just west of the Turco-Persian frontier the chief peaks are some 14,000 feet high. Here, too, it begins to curve definitely southward; and, as it does so, it throws off a sort of spur in a northerly direction, linking up with Aghri Dagh (Mount Ararat), some 150 miles away.

Separated from each other by these three divergent ridges are three tracts of comparatively level country embayed in the re-entering angles; and in the centre of each of these tracts there lies a considerable city—Van, in Armenia, to the northward; Urmi, in Persia, to the eastward; and Mosul, in Mesopotamia, towards the south. These three cities are about equi-distant from each other, and may be regarded as forming the points of an equilateral triangle whose sides are 120 miles long; and the rugged mountain mass that fills the interior of this triangle is known as the district of Hakkari—one of the wildest and least accessible regions even in Kurdistan.

The regular road from Aleppo to Mosul runs just along the foot of the mountains skirting the northern edge of the great Mesopotamian plain. This is the line that has been chosen by the engineers of the Bagdad Railway. And it does but follow the time-honoured track that has been adopted by nearly every traveller and conqueror since the days of Abraham and Chedorlaomer; for the bee-line from Babylonia to Syria traverses a waterless desert, and was impassable even in those days, when the rainfall was probably heavier than now.

The distance from Aleppo to Mosul is a little more than 300 miles, and when the railway is finished the journey will take about ten hours. But till then, under the old conditions, it entails about a fortnight's travelling, and this is usually accomplished in an araba—a sort of ramshackle four-wheeled buggy, fitted with a tilt, and drawn by three or four scraggy ponies—which the voyager (like an ancient Scythian) has to use as a "movable home." The araba progresses at a foot's pace, and an average stage for a day would be about twenty-five miles. The halting-places have to be determined by the known position of certain starveling streams, or pans of moderately drinkable water; and food, and even fodder for the horses, is generally only obtainable at intervals of three or four days.

Roads may fairly be called non-existent. Some few of the more important towns which lie near the foot of the mountains—such as Urfa, Mardin, and Diarbekr—do indeed pose as the starting-points of one or more metalled roadways, which sally forth heroically from the city gates, and disappear abruptly and ignominiously after a career of four or five miles. But on the plain are mere foot-tracks, often so faintly marked that it is difficult to trace them even by daylight, and singularly easy to lose them after dark. On one such occasion

our drivers, having strayed a few paces aside, set to work to hunt for the path by the light of a small wax taper. "How many miles to Babylon?" says the old rhyme, and goes on to ask: "Can I get there by candlelight?" It would seem that this was really a very important point to ascertain.

Mosul, the chief city of Upper Mesopotamia, is reputed to contain 80,000 inhabitants. It is the seat of a Vali, and the headquarters of a military division; but it is a squalid and meanly built place, and altogether unfortified. The streets are mostly so narrow that a cat can jump across them from roof to roof; and, after the least rain, so muddy that the householder usually bridges them with a plank whenever he wishes to visit his opposite neighbour. Their windings, too, form a maze of such ingenious complexity that few of the townsfolk know their way except in their own particular quarter.

The place is an oven in summer, and the half-dozen or so of Europeans who live there all escape for their lives to the mountains at that season if they can. But in winter the climate is pleasanter, except during the rainy season in January or February, which has been so hampering our troops lately in their operations below Bagdad.

Mosul lies on the right bank of the Tigris, and opposite to it, on the left bank, just beyond the old bed of the river, and consequently about a mile back from its present channel, rise the mounds that mark the site of Nineveh. There is nothing of Nineveh now left above ground except these great mounds, which look for all the world like derelict railway embankments. They mark the line of the old walls, and enclose an area about three times as large as modern Mosul. All the more important marbles and bronzes have probably been long since removed and housed in the British Museum, but one specially choice plum is still reserved for future excavators—the mound of Nebi Yunus, which covers the principal palace of Assurbanipal. This hillock is crowned by a mosque, which is reputed to contain the tomb of the Prophet Jonah; and a mosque of such peculiar sanctity must not be disturbed on any account. For Jonah is still a great personage in this locality; the fast which is said to have been instituted in consequence of his preaching being still observed annually, with the utmost strictness, by all local Christians and Moslems and Yezidis, as well as by Jews.

Almost the only memorials of the old Assyrian conquerors which are now to be seen in the lands where they reigned in their glory are the great bas-reliefs which they delighted to have carved at conspicuous points in the living rock; apparently to serve as trophies marking the limits of their conquests, much as an English "Tommy" loves to carve the badge of his regiment on some conspicuous precipice in Tibet or Afghanistan.

Several such may be seen at about a day's journey north of Mosul,

at the point where the Bavian River issues from its mountain glen. This spot was apparently one of the quarries where the stone was cut for building the palaces of Nineveh, and whence the huge blocks were floated down to their destination on rafts of inflated skins. The sculptures are of the date of Sennacherib; and the quarries were perhaps abandoned in consequence of the outbreak of the civil war which followed his assassination. The principal relief records his destruction of Babylon, which had rebelled against him early in his reign, and which he took and razed to the ground.

Across the plains to Mosul one can travel in some sort of carriage, but the pathways over the mountains take nothing that runs upon wheels. Three thousand years ago, as he himself has recorded, "I, Tiglath-Pileser, was obliged to go on foot." And those who imagine that, because the Russians have captured Bitlis, the road now lies open for them into Mesopotamia, must have a very inadequate conception of the character of these local roads. It is true that an army may manage them; Xenophon's army actually did—but they abandoned all their transport to do so. And the road is now not a whit better than it was in Xenophon's day. The only baggage that can be taken is such as can be carried on pack mules; and even a small party is likely to get well strung out on the narrow pathways, and to require pretty frequent halts to pull itself together again.

Our road lies at first on the plain, close to the foot of the mountains, over stony ground, meagrely cultivated, with a few small, dirty villages here and there. Many of these villages are now deserted and ruined, having been gradually badgered out of existence between Turkish tax-gatherers and Arab raiders; and the most regular landmarks are the derelict, walled cemeteries, which are rendered conspicuous by their sacred trees. The cult of the sacred tree is, of course, one of the oldest of all religions. It is a familiar subject in the ancient Assyrian bas-reliefs, and often alluded to in the Bible as the worship of the groves. In this country, where trees are scarce, nearly every prominent tree seems to be canonized. It is too much to say, perhaps, that they are still actually worshipped, but they are at least very greatly honoured. Few natives will pass such a tree without leaving a rag in the branches to keep the Genius in mind of him, and none would dare to steal even a fallen branch to light his fire withal.

One of the most noteworthy monuments in this stage of the journey is the old hermit monastery of Rabban Hormizd, situated in a pocket of the mountains overlooking the plain of Mosul, and consisting of hundreds of cave-cells ranged in tiers along the face of the cliff. It was founded in the eighth century, and has never been entirely abandoned. Its church, in local phraseology, is a "Church of Name," celebrated for its miraculous power of curing insanity. The lunatic

(often quite willing) is solemnly conducted to the church, and chained up in it for twenty-four hours with a ponderous iron chain and collar. After that experience he is usually sane enough to profess himself cured.

Close to Rabban Hormizd is Alkosh, reputed to be the burial-place of Nahum; and, despite the fact that the commentators place Nahum's Alkosh in Galilee, I feel there is much reason to accept this local claim. One can hardly read Nahum's prophecy without feeling that he must have been an eyewitness of the last siege of Nineveh — probably one of the refugees who looked down from the mountains on the armies of Cyaxares and Nabopolassar, and saw "the bloody city" at last delivered to the flames.

But undoubtedly the weirdest corner in all this part of the country is Sheikh Adi, the central shrine of the Yezidis, or "devil-worshippers," which is hidden away in a secluded valley just within the fringe of the mountains about a day's journey north of Mosul. This strange sect is supposed to number about 200,000 adherents; widely scattered in many detached communities, but most numerous in the province of Mosul. The poor wretches are a quiet and harmless folk enough, but are regarded by all their Moslem and Christian neighbours as the vilest of outcasts and pariahs. They seem to inspire the same mixture of scorn and fear as witches used once to inspire in England. Anyone with adequate backing is ready to bully them by daylight, but nobody feels quite willing to pass their doors alone after dark.

"Devil-worshippers" they are truly, but their religion is a queer medley, compounded, apparently, out of about half a dozen others. It must be admitted, however, that, such as it is, they adhere to it most steadfastly; and, in spite of incessant persecutions, apostasy is almost unknown.

The Yezidis believe in a Supreme Being, but in One who holds Himself entirely aloof from all created things. The creation of the world, and its governance for a period of 10,000 years, were committed by Him to the first of the seven great Spirits which emanated from Him—the Spirit euphemistically known as Melek Taus (King Peacock), who is identical with Satan. Melek Taus is an evil and fallen Spirit; but at least he is Prince of this world, and, as such, must be duly propitiated. Moreover, it is inconceivable that he shall not some day be rehabilitated, and then he will remember those who paid him reverence in his disgrace. Melek Isa (Jesus) is the second of the great Spirits, and He, too, will reign for 10,000 years, when Melek Taus's reign is done. But meanwhile worship of Him is not so imperatively necessary; and, in any case, those who neglect Him may hope He will pardon the offence.

This central article of their creed is an inheritance, no doubt, from the old Persian worship of Ahriman, the Evil Principle. Other

tenets date back to primeval Nature worship, or have been borrowed from Judaism, Christianity, and Mahommedanism. The Yezidis are very reticent about their faith, and no outsider has ever witnessed their ritual; but it seems clear that Sheikh Adi is to them what the Temple of Zion was to the Jews, and that all their worship is centred in the sacrifices performed here at their annual festival.

Sheikh Adi is a sort of Satanic monastery, consisting only of the temple and its precincts. There is no village near it; and nothing can be more eerie than to arrive at that solitary ruined shrine in its lonely glen at nightfall, and find it all silent and deserted, but brilliantly illuminated with scores of tiny lamps. The Yezidis entertained us hospitably, and allowed us to visit the temple, and even to inspect the shrine within it, which contains the image of Melek Taus in the form of a conventionalized bird. The bronze peacock in the British Museum was perhaps at one time used as such a "Sanjak," but they keep seven Sanjaks altogether, and these are often looted and replaced.

There are two main roads leading into the mountains from Mosul: one just west of Alkosh, and one at Akra, further east. Akra is a typical Kurdish mountain township, perched halfway up the slope of the hillside, and looking southward over the Mesopotamian plain. Mosul, some fifty miles away, is clearly visible, half veiled by the smoke of its lime-kilns; and the windings of the Tigris may be traced for many miles beyond. East and west, as far as the eye can see, the heights rise up from the level in a series of bold headlands that look as if they had been dressed to toe a line: and the steepness of the slopes is apparent in the planning of the city, where each front door seems entered from the roof of the house below.

The Kurds enjoy an evil reputation, and in most respects thoroughly deserve it; but at least we have no right to regard them as intruders who ought to be expelled. They have been established in the land as long as any of their neighbours; and as the Kings of Assyria made a practice of flaying their chiefs alive whenever they were able to catch them, we may infer they were considered a nuisance even in those earliest days. Xenophon expressly states that the Kurduchi were an independent people, and were not to be considered as subjects of the Great King; and he adds an illuminating note that there were no Armenian villages within a day's march of the Kurduchian frontier, because the Kurduchi were so incurably addicted to plundering them—a remark which seems to have a very modern ring.

The Kurds are still semi-independent, and it is certainly not from the Turks that they have acquired their unruly habits. They are not even akin to the Turks; for while the Turks are Turanian, and the Arabs and Armenians Semitic, the Kurds speak a dialect of Persian, and are thus presumably an Aryan race. I fear they are nearer akin to ourselves than they are to any of their neighbours; albeit, it is not

a relationship that we need be ambitious to claim. They are a pastoral race; but, unhappily, rather of the type of those Eliotts and Johnstones and Armstrongs who used to practise "the faithful herdman's art" upon our own border. And perhaps their inveterate enmity towards the Armenians and Syrians may be regarded as a part of the agelong feud between the feeder of flocks and the tiller of the ground which seems to have originated in the quarrel between Cain and Abel. In summer they are nomadic, dwelling in tents of black goat's hair, and tending their flocks and herds upon the high mountain pastures; but in winter they gravitate to their villages in the valleys or on the plains. They are a picturesque gang of ruffians, and one could hardly help feeling some sentimental regret at their disappearance; but I fear one is tempted to apply to them the words which Scott puts into Albany's mouth to justify the mutual slaughter of the Clan Quhele and the Clan Chattan. There can be no peace in the country until they are thoroughly tamed.

The range upon which Akra lies is one of a sheaf of parallel ridges which form a sort of outwork to the Hakkari Oberland. Beyond them lies a long, straight, widish valley, running due east and west for a distance of about 100 miles, and forming a kind of moat between the outwork and the citadel. This valley looks quite continuous, but as a matter of fact it is not one valley at all. It is shared out between two rivers which break into it out of the northern gorges, pick up tributaries out of the central section, and emerge from it at opposite ends. A somewhat similar valley, the Valley of Mergawar and Tergawar, skirts the eastern front of Hakkari upon the Urmi side. This latter valley possesses some importance as affording the most eligible route by which the Bagdad army could be transferred to Erzerum; but this district has long since been occupied by the Russians, and is no more available for the Turks.

These valleys, with the ridges which form them, are the boundaries of the Ashiret country; and the phrase, "the Ashiret country," may be paraphrased "the country of the clans." The Ashiret tribes live to-day under much the same sort of conditions as the old Scotch clans in the Highlands "beyond the line" before "the Forty-five." They are nominally Ottoman subjects, but their real allegiance is rendered to their own hereditary tribal chieftains. They pay tribute (when it can be got out of them), but not taxes, like the Rayats on the plains.

The Ottoman Government lately had been trying to strengthen its authority, but the effort must now have been abandoned, and never looked like having much success. In districts where the chiefs were powerful they often maintained order almost as efficiently as the Hukmet. But, unfortunately, this was not the case in the valleys on the Ashiret borderland. These are inhabited mostly by

petty chiefs and broken clans; and they are fitted with a handy bolt-hole into Persia for the convenience of folk who have made their own land too hot to hold them. It is said that a Vali of Van, upon taking stock of his Government, found that there were 700 men under sentence of death in it who were all still at large; and in the Amadia Valley nearly every prominent chief seems to be an outlaw for some proved act of violence—a circumstance which does not affect his standing in the least. —My brother asked one such Agha, after an amicable conversation, whether it was really true that he had committed the fifteen murders with which he was commonly credited. “Well, Effendim,” he replied innocently, “they were all of them enemies of mine, except two.”

It is the Zab River that occupies the eastern end of the Amadia Valley, and the crossing of it was the occasion of our receiving a pretty clear intimation of the extent to which the Sultan’s writ might be expected to run in an Ashiret chief’s country. From Mosul to this point we had, of course, been escorted by a couple of zaptiehs, to insure the safety of our persons, according to the custom of the land. But this insurance policy did not include any risks on the farther side of the Zab River, and the zaptiehs washed their hands of us as soon as we reached the waterside. If the Sheikh of Barzan sanctioned our visit, we needed no further protection; but if he chose to resent it, what good would two zaptiehs be? Moreover, as my brother’s escort said bluntly on another occasion: “Of course we can go with you, Effendim; but how are we going to get back?”

It is rather an adventure for a native to travel in the Ashiret country. Supposing that he is at all worth robbing, he needs to sound his course with great care. As it was in Israel in the days of Deborah, so is it now in certain districts of Hakkari—“the high-ways are unoccupied, and the travellers walk in byways,” and even “the noise of the archers in the places of drawing water” (if for “archers” we read “riflemen”) is not quite an idle fear.

Of course, if the traveller is known to be blessed with powerful friends in high places, or relatives who have a reputation for conducting a blood feud energetically, his chances of getting through scathless are very greatly improved. But the murder of some stray villager is likely to pass quite unnoticed; and if they have robbed a man of a piastre the thieves think it rather a good haul. But the robbers keep one rule: “Thou shalt not attack a European.” There are always inquiries about a European, and a most unsmotherable row. So the Frank’s party travels scot-free; and as he proceeds on his journey he finds that every person who wants to go on tramp in the district has taken the opportunity of tacking himself on to his convoy in order to “walk under his shadow” and share in his immunities. He picks up two or three at one village, and drops two

or three at another, and always has some small following till he reaches his journey's end. How many depends upon circumstances. Where the local chief keeps good order, like the Sheikh of Barzan, his countenance is not so essential; but in the neighbourhood of such folk as the Mira of Berwar or the Agha of Chal his services are in great demand.

Where travelling is so precarious, it is natural that there should not be much accommodation for travellers, and in a mountain village there is very seldom a khan. The traveller billets himself, as of course, upon the headman of the village, usually making him some small present in departing in return for his hospitality—a gift if his host is of some social standing, or money if he is obviously poor. The guest is almost always welcome. His visit is held to confer a certain “kudos” upon his entertainer; as the local phrase runs, it “increases his name.” Indeed, if the chief be a personage of any note, it is a marked slight to enter his village without accepting his hospitality. Thus the prophet in the Biblical narrative, who was sent to Bethel to denounce the king's idolatrous practices, was particularly charged not to accept hospitality; and the local prophet felt that his own prestige must suffer so much under such a pointed censure that he rode out after him, and persuaded him to disobey. A Tkuma Malik once met my brother as he was returning howewards down the valley. “It is my hope, Rabbi, that you will be my guest to-night. You see, you stopped with So-and-so (a rival chief) on your way up, and if you don't honour me this time I fear I shall be obliged to shoot you.” There was no ill-feeling in the matter, but he felt that his honour was at stake.

One must add, to the credit of the tribesmen, that the poorest traveller may claim hospitality even at the house of an Agha. He will get at least a meal and shelter, and his person and property will be safe as long as he stays. Violation of hospitality is a very rare event, and is always strongly reprobated, though it has been held fair to rob your guest later, after he has been allowed sufficient law.

The village houses are built of rough stone walling, and floored with mud beaten hard. The roofs are always flat, and are formed with rafters of unsquared poplar-stems, upon which is spread, first a layer of brushwood, and then a thick covering of well-punned mud. Such roofs are quite water-tight so long as they are properly attended to; but they have to be kept well rolled and trodden, so as to work out the cracks which are constantly appearing in them after a spell of dry weather. The rooms are low and very dark, for there are often no windows whatever, and the daylight is only admitted through the smoke-hole and the door. The doors are made very low, probably to prevent the cattle entering; for in many cases, particularly in Kurdish villages, the living-rooms and byres are all under the same roof, and intercommunicating. The belated wayfarers at Bethlehem,

who were obliged to spend the night in the stable because there was no room for them in the guest-chamber, were perhaps experiencing no very unusual hardship—certainly none that is at all unusual in Hakkari at the present time.

If there is an upper story, it is generally what is known as a "belai"—open towards the north, and serving as a living-room during the heats of the summer, and as a store for fodder during the winter months.

The typical fireplace, or "tanura," is a beehive-shaped hole dug in the middle of the floor. The smoke escapes from it as best it can, partly through a hole in the roof over it, partly at the ends of the rafters, and partly under the lintel of the door. The house boasts practically no furniture except the sleeping-rugs and cooking-pots; and householder, guests, and retainers as a rule all share the same room.

Naturally the inhabitants do not live in such rooms more than necessary. They sleep there at night; they live there in the depths of winter, when often for days or weeks together the villages are buried under snow. But by day, in the spring and autumn, they generally carry on their ordinary household jobs on their roofs or in front of their doorways; and in summer, when the nights are sultry, they usually sleep on the roofs as well.

The village roofs, by the way, seem to be regarded as common territory, and all inhabitants enjoy a right of way across them, except where the alleys between them happen to be too wide to jump. Such an easement, indeed, is inevitable where the village lies on a hillside, as it is only over the roofs of the lower houses that one can reach the doors of the upper rows.

The people, whether Kurds or Syrians, are partly agricultural and partly pastoral; but flocks and herds being portable property, and (in border phrase) easily "lifted," there is a natural tendency for agriculture to get left more and more to the Syrians, and for the sheep and cows to gravitate into the possession of the Kurds. Syrian and Kurdish villages are intermixed everywhere in Hakkari, just as Kurdish and Armenian are intermixed farther north. The two peoples hardly ever share a village, though occasionally a few stray families have somehow got themselves stranded in an opposition camp. They differ in race and in creed, and they speak different languages; but their dress and their physiognomy are both very much the same. The Kurd carries a larger armoury, and bears himself with a certain ruffianly swagger; but, except in these two particulars, it is difficult to tell them apart.

Neither Syrian nor Kurdish women wear the veil, though, of course, the Kurds are Moslems, and though Christian women in Armenia are also accustomed to go veiled. Their rough open-air

life, and the field labour to which they are habituated, has apparently led them to discard this hampering conventionality.

Amadia, the chief town in the Sapna district, stands right in the centre of its valley, occupying the flat summit of an isolated hill, whose cresting of vertical precipice gives it exactly the appearance of being surrounded by a titanic wall. On the northern side of the valley rises the main mass of the Hakkari Mountains, and before describing these particularly I would say a word about their general form.

The Niphates range, as I said earlier, forms the southern edge of the Armenian plateau; and as the three great rivers of Mesopotamia all have their sources on that plateau, it follows that they all have to cut their way through these mountains in order to descend to the plain. The result is a series of magnificent gorges—magnificent even in the case of the Tigris and Euphrates, which pierce the range further westward, but most magnificent of all in the case of the Zab, which cuts its way through the highest and wildest part of the range in the very centre of Hakkari.

We say, "As old as the hills," but there are certain physical features of the globe which are in most cases older than the hills, and these are the rivers. This fact is probably responsible for the formation of the Hakkari gorges. The rivers were already flowing southward from the plateau to the plain before the mountains were thought of; and as the limestone ridge slowly heaved itself up inch by inch for century after century, the stream, neither checked nor diverted, kept grooving the barrier away.

According to Syrian tradition, the Zab is the "River of Eden." They identify it with the Pison, and regard the Garden of Eden as having been situated on the Armenian plateau about the regions now occupied by the vilayets of Van, Erzerum, and Bitlis. According to this reckoning, the three other rivers of the Garden would be the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Araxes, which all have their sources in this region within a short distance of the Zab. Milton seems to accept this theory when he pictures Satan as alighting on Mount Niphates, and it is a theory which has at least the merit of giving a satisfactory answer to the vexed question why it is that no Eden now exists. All the original face of the ground now lies buried hundreds of feet deep beneath the ashes and lava flow from five huge quiescent volcanoes, and when these were in full activity they must have been very fitting representatives of Cherubim with flaming swords.

The other land which claims to be the site of Eden is, of course, Babylonia. But we may at least say this in favour of the Armenian theory—that Babylonia, though historically the most ancient, is, geologically speaking, one of the newest of countries. It is almost

entirely alluvial, and at the time when man may be supposed to have first made his appearance in the world it probably did not exist.

The Zab gorge, for all its narrowness and difficulty, is one of the main avenues of traffic in these regions, and it has even been seriously contended that if a railway is ever constructed to link Mesopotamia and Armenia, this is the line along which it will have to come. At present, the path is one long arduous scramble along the steep banks of the river. Sometimes it is built out upon a rough causeway close along the edge of the torrent; sometimes notched in under an overhanging precipice; or even bracketed out across the face of some great vertical slab, on stout wooden bearers wedged into the crevices of the rock. Often the path has to leave the waterside and clamber up by steep zigzags across the saddle of some projecting bluff, and at certain points where the gorge is notoriously cumbered with fallen boulders it is usually judged expedient to desert it altogether, and take a divergent course along some of the lateral valleys, including one or two passes above the line of perpetual snow. The river is only fordable at one or two points in these gorges, and even at these points only for a few weeks every year. The only means of crossing it at other times are provided by two or three very narrow and flimsy bridges precariously bracketed out from the banks on rough wooden cantilevers. Only one passenger can cross these at a time, and he will not be able to do so unless he possesses a pretty good head.

The gorges are rendered quite impassable by the depth of the snows in winter-time, and the imminent danger from avalanches continues to prohibit travel until the spring is well advanced. The fall of these avalanches often blocks the course of the river for several hours together, and on such occasions the natives have a fine opportunity of gleaning the fish that have been left stranded in the dry bed below. In due time the dam bursts, or the river bores a passage beneath it, and then the adventurous fishers have to shin up the rocks for their lives.

The road leading into these regions from Amadia is the merest boulder-shoot; the pathway wriggling up a steep gully in the hillside behind the town through a cascade of huge fallen fragments, many of which are as big as a house. It is considered a bad bit of road even when judged by local standards, but it is literally the only road at this particular point. Farther in things are somewhat better; but as often as not the traveller finds himself committed to the dry bed of a rock-encumbered torrent; or to a six-inch path across a bare sloping scree, as steep as the roof of a house, and finishing off at the eaves with a fifty-foot drop into the boiling river below.

I know nothing of the road from Nisibin to Bitlis. It was a district so notoriously infested with Kurdish cut-throats that even my brother and his colleagues (who were not usually deterred by trifles)

had never ventured to travel that way. But, unless it is altogether different from all other roads in the neighbourhood, the Russians at Bitlis will not find it easy to get in touch with a British army on the Tigris above Mosul.

I have spoken of Syrians and Christians as being intermingled with the Kurdish tribes of Hakkari, and it is amid the fastnesses of the Zab gorges that these Syrian Christians for the most part have their home. Tyari (the central portion of the main Zab Valley) and the lateral valleys of Tkhuma, Baz, Jilu, and Tal, are almost exclusively populated by these Christian tribesmen, and they have many isolated villages in other districts as well. It cannot be honestly said that they are, when independent, much tamer or more law-abiding than their Kurdish neighbours. Their Maliks are perpetually at feud with one another over grazing rights, and so forth, and, of course, still more constantly at feud with the neighbouring Kurdish Aghas, with whom they can pick religious quarrels even when they have no valid grievance of any other kind.

These Christian tribesmen are Ashirets, like their neighbours. They owe allegiance primarily to their hereditary Prince-Bishop, Mar Shimun, the "Catholicos of the East." They are now but a small community, being supposed to number in all about 80,000 persons; but, small as they are, they are one of the most interesting survivals in the Ottoman Empire, and their strange position as a semi-independent Christian tribe living in the midst of Mahomedans, and ruled by a chief whose authority over them is exercised both temporally and spiritually, they seem like a standing testimony to the truth of the old medieval legend of Prester John.

Of their origin as a nation it is difficult to speak positively. They themselves assert that they are descended from the ancient Assyrians, and it cannot be denied that, if we are to attach any weight to physiognomy, we shall find a good deal of evidence that tends in favour of such a claim. Of course, it is only a comparatively small proportion of the tribe who have markedly Assyrian features. Their race, as it exists at present, must have been much adulterated with other stocks. But in some cases the Assyrian type asserts itself so arrestingly that we feel it impossible to question their Assyrian descent. Certainly, if we are to admit it, it would be a striking fulfilment of prophecy: "Nineveh is laid waste; who shall bemoan her? Her people is scattered upon the mountains, and no man gathereth them."

In addition to the Assyrians' features, the tribesmen have inherited no small share of their martial instinct, and their prowess as fighters is fully admitted by the Kurds. The Armenians and the Syrians of the plain have had most of their fighting spirit crushed out of them, but no Kurd cares to face a Tyari man on anything like level terms. So long as the arms were equal, the Christians, though heavily out-

numbered, were able to give about as good as they got in the way of manslaughter and sheep-stealing; and as the amount of powder burnt was altogether disproportionate to the size of the casualty lists, there seemed no particular reason for any outsider to interfere. But of late years the arms were not equal. The Christians were supposed to be disarmed, and had often to make shift with flintlocks. The Kurds obtained Government recognition as "Hamidie Irregular Regiments," and, as such, were equipped with Mausers; and on these terms the game was too one-sided. On the outbreak of the present war the Christians were assailed by a general coalition of all the Kurdish tribes, assisted by regular troops with mountain batteries of artillery; and though they put up a good fight as long as their ammunition lasted, they had at last to abandon their villages and retreat over the snowy passes into Persia. They reached Urmi almost naked, and in a state of utter destitution; and the men, women, and children who perished from the hardships of that march were far more than fell in the fighting. Such help as is possible is now being given them by Russians, by the British Consul, and by the American missionaries; and we hope that by these means the survivors may have been tided over the winter, and may be able to establish themselves in the wasted Urmi villages in spring.

Their Christianity is of very ancient origin, for they represent about the last remnant of the Christians who inhabited the ancient Parthian and Sassanid Persian Empire. Christianity, we must remember, spread eastward to Ctesiphon at least as rapidly as it spread westward to Rome and Carthage, and up to the end of the fourteenth century there were probably more Christians in Asia than there were in Europe. These Eastern Christians, however, were always kept very much out of touch with their Western co-religionists, first by the constant wars between the Roman and Persian Empires, and then by the Moslem conquests, which cut them off from all intercommunication. They formed a separate independent national Church, recognizing as their Patriarch the Bishop of their capital city Ctesiphon; and their very existence seems to have been so completely forgotten by the whole of Western Christendom that, whenever a medieval traveller did stumble across them, he always regarded them as a new discovery. They were a numerous and powerful body, nevertheless. The "Arabian Nights" indicate that they formed an important section of the community in the days of Harun al Rashid. They spread throughout Persia, and into China and India; and the Christians of St. Thomas, in Malabar, a branch now much larger than the stem, still acknowledge Mar Shimun, the chief of the Assyrian Christians, as the legitimate successor of the Patriarch of Baghdad.

The decay of Christianity in these regions seems to have been the

result mainly of the devastation and depopulation caused by successive waves of conquest, particularly by the conquests of Timur the Tartar. The Patriarch fled first to Mosul; and in later years sought a yet securer refuge at the village of Qudshanis, in the heart of Hakkari, where the last remnant of his people were still maintaining themselves.

Benjamin, the present Mar Shimun, is still a comparatively young man, though it is now some ten years since he became Catholicos. The dignity is hereditary in his family, as such dignities generally are in this country among Moslems and Yezidis, as well as among Christians, and as the High-Priesthood was hereditary in the House of Aaron among the Jews. The office descends from uncle to nephew; for by old tradition the Bishops of this Church must be celibate, though the priests are always married men.

Mar Shimun is, of course, regarded by the Kurds in the light of an hereditary enemy; but they think of him, nevertheless, as a chief of equal standing with themselves, and as possessing the same sort of semi-sanctity as their own Sheikhs. By our own theological purists both he and his people are rather held suspect as Nestorians; but, without entering upon that thorny subject, I will only say that those who have lived most among them are convinced that there is no heresy in them at present, and that the chief obstacle to reunion is their somewhat natural reluctance to admit that there ever has been.

I ought, perhaps, to add a warning that the East Syrians, whom I have just been describing, are quite distinct from the West Syrians, whose Patriarch resides at Mardin. The latter represent the old Christian Patriarchate of Antioch, the Christians of the Asiatic provinces of the old Roman Empire; and though both Churches are now Melets of the Ottoman Empire, they have always kept entirely distinct.

One of the most typical of the lateral valleys is that of the Oramar River, a considerable tributary of the Zab, which unites with it just below Amadia. It is a valley which is very seldom visited, being about the only district in the neighbourhood which is left absolutely blank on the large scale maps; and we were assured that we should be the first Europeans to visit it, and that even we could not do so. "Horses couldn't go, and mules couldn't go, and Englishmen couldn't walk." The valley was chiefly inhabited by Kurds, who acknowledged the authority of the Sheikh of Barzan, and one of his caterans accompanied us to see that we came to no harm. There were also a few Christian villages, which, politically, were pretty well off, because the Sheikh is tolerant, but which in their remote valley had been left without priest or service for about twenty years.

Oramar itself lies at the head of the valley, a little below the snow-line, and looks very much like a swallow's nest plastered against the face of a wall. This appearance is owing to the terraced fields, which spread out fan-wise beneath it—a good example of the terrace cultivation which is commonly practised in these mountain glens.

Upon these bare rock slopes sufficient soil for cultivation can only be kept together by the building of retaining walls; and there are even exceptional instances where, after the walls are built, the soil has to be carried up to them in baskets on men's backs. Water has also to be provided artificially by ducts from the mountain streams carried along the face of the slope, and even after all this labour it often happens that the only crop which can be grown is millet, though good ground bears wheat, and sometimes even rice and vines. The men of the mountains lead a pretty hard life, but for all that they would not change with the despised plain-dweller. As the local proverb says: "It is better to eat millet bread and carry a gun than be an unarmed rayat under the Ottoman."

The very existence of these terrace fields, by the way, proves that Oramar was once a Christian village, and that (as is still constantly happening in similar cases) the Christians have been squeezed out by Kurdish intruders. Kurds never trouble to make good fields. They are not, and never will be, cultivators. And the Turks are likely to find this out, to their cost, now that they have expelled all the Syrians and Armenians. Asia Minor is far more likely to suffer from famine itself than to be able to spare any corn for Germany.

Only one Christian family is now left in Oramar, and the reason why it is allowed to remain is very typical of local habits of thought. The head of this family is the Christian priest of the ancient hermit church of Mar Mamu, which is planted a little above the village; and, like many another ancient Christian shrine in the district, Mar Mamu is considered sacred even by the Kurds. No doubt it was a hallowed spot long before the days of Christianity, and its old traditional sanctity has survived all changes of creed.

Mar Mamu was a very early Christian martyr, who underwent his persecutions at the hand of Alexander the Great. This tyrant cast him into a burning fiery furnace, where he was heard singing the Psalter for three months consecutively, till his persecutor released him in despair. Thereafter he retired to Oramar, and (like another St. Patrick) swept away with him into his hermitage all the snakes that infested the upper valley, which he bottled up in a cave under the floor. The snakes are all still there. The present incumbent has seen them—"in a vision." And it is obviously unwise to meddle with their keeper, lest they should escape to vex the land once more.

Many of the mountain shrines are accorded similar veneration, such as Mar Abd-Ishu, in Tal, and Mar B'Ishu, in Gawar, the latter being one of several where the ancient animal sacrifices still form part of the customary rites; but perhaps Mar Zeia, in Jilu, is most "lord of name" of them all. Jilu is about the most remote and inhospitable of all these savage valleys; and Jilu men (having a specially hard life of it in their own homes) have developed, to an even greater extent than their neighbours, the national habit of "going to

countries" in order to better themselves. They drift away absolutely penniless, and utterly ignorant of any foreign language; yet not only do they contrive to penetrate even as far as America, but often drift back to their homes again with quite a good stock of hard cash. This is seldom quite honestly come by, for the charitable folk whose purse-strings have been loosened by their (perfectly true) tales of the miseries and oppressions of their hapless Christian brethren have generally failed to realize that their petitioners (as representatives of these oppressed Christians) have every intention of keeping all alms for themselves. But the rascals have at least so much conscience as prompts them always to make a thank-offering on their return at the Church of Mar Zeia, and that shrine is now choked with a most amazing collection, which it has probably taken centuries to get together, and which ranges back from festoons of modern American clocks to ancient jars of Chinese porcelain which may be well worth their weight in gold. The guardian relic which preserves all these treasures from plunder is a kerchief, believed by all Kurds to be the veritable "napkin of Mohammed," given to the Church by the Prophet himself as a token of his protection.

Intermixed with the Kurds and Syrians, who form the main population of Hakkari, there are, besides Yezidis and Armenians, a certain small number of Jews. And these quite decline to lend themselves to any Anglo-Israelitish theory, for they claim that they are the only original "Lost Ten Tribes," and that they have never been lost. They and their fathers, they say, have been settled in Mosul and its neighbourhood ever since the day when Sargon carried them away captive from Samaria. Their position is far from enviable, for the Yezidis alone are regarded with greater contumely; and though many of them are wealthy, thanks to their national talent for money-lending, yet (like Jews of medieval Europe) they dare not let their wealth be known. The Jew who will cash your cheque promptly (when he learns that you are an Englishman) is to all outward seeming the poorest wretch in the town. Many Kurdish Aghas keep tame Jews, practically as bond-slaves, to manage their finances for them. The Agha of Chal, in particular, keeps quite a herd, and once even offered to sell us one for £5.

The Agha of Chal is commonly reputed to be the greatest thief and murderer in the district, except the Mira of Berwar; but this fact has proved no impediment to his being appointed Mudir, to administer justice in the land, as representative of the Ottoman Government, and this he is still doing—according to his lights. If scandals of this sort were rare, it might be permissible to ignore them; but, unfortunately, they are the merest commonplaces of Turkish provincial administration, and furnish the most unanswerable argument against the continuance of Turkish rule. As a man, the Turk has many

virtues, but as a governor he is execrable; for he has allowed all the machinery of government to fall into the hands of professional job-mongers, and the most flagrant corruption flourishes absolutely unchecked. The substitution of Young Turks for Old has produced no improvement in this particular, and, indeed, the new hands (being novices) seem to plunder with rather less grace.

The Turks have been confronted with a most difficult task, analogous in some degree to the task which confronts us in India. Numerically an insignificant minority in the lands which they nominally govern, they are set to control a medley of mutually antagonistic tribes. Energy alone could win respect for their rule, but they have long since lost their energy. Like other feeble opportunist Governments, they are now seeking only acquiescence, and their method of doing so is to allow as much licence as possible to all the more turbulent elements (from whom any trouble may be apprehended) to behave exactly as they please. The result is, naturally, chaos. Though seldom designedly cruel, they have succeeded, by sheer laziness, in evolving a condition of anarchy more disastrous and oppressive to their subjects than any open tyranny could be.

The Kurds, whom they have sought to conciliate, are more profoundly disaffected to their government than the Armenians and Syrians whom they have allowed them to massacre and expel. Before the outbreak of war, there was scarcely a single Kurdish chief who was not in treasonable correspondence with Russia. The Russians had even supplied them with arms, and though, on the commencement of hostilities, the arms were used against the donors, this *volte-face* was not the result of any profound policy, nor even of the fanaticism engendered by the proclamation of the Jihad. The Kurds had merely realized that by joining the Turks at first they would get *carte blanche* to plunder the Armenians; and now that the plunder is exhausted, and only hard knocks are going, they are not at all likely to give much more effective aid.

It is to be hoped that, when the war is over, this country may be blessed with an active and resolute "Warden of the Marches," like Belted Will Howard, of Naworth, who will put down all disorders impartially with a strong hand.

Colonel Sir HENRY TROTTER said that between thirty and forty years ago he visited the regions described by the lecturer—namely, during the Turko-Russian War of 1877-8. He was with the Turkish Army, which included a force of several thousand Kurds as auxiliaries, and very troublesome auxiliaries they were. Any wounded Russians who fell into their hands were done for, and many Armenian villagers who happened to come in their way were slaughtered. They became so troublesome that at last they had to be sent away, and a very good

riddance it was, as they were of little use in the fighting line. At the same time there were many of them who were good fellows in their way. It struck him, as it had struck the lecturer, that the tribal clan system was similar to the old clan system in Scotland. In the Turkish Royal Family the Sultanate does not pass from father to son; the succession passes to the eldest male member of the family; but in Kurdistan the succession is from father to eldest son, and the Chief is looked upon exactly as the old Scotch clans used to look upon their Chiefs. The wonder to him was that Mr. Wigram found any Nestorians left. About 1850 Beder Khan Pasha, Emir of Bohtan, which lay west of Hakkari, the famous father of seventy stalwart sons, in association with the Chief of Rowanduz, massacred almost the entire body of the mountain Nestorians. They were so successful in their hunt for them that the Patriarch had to take refuge in Mosul, where he was entertained and protected by our Consul. He believed that he and those who were with him succeeded in getting back to their country, but how it could still be largely populated by Nestorian Christians is a problem. There have been other massacres since, culminating in the recent outrages, and it seemed there could now be very few Christians left in the country which had been described to them. When he was at Van he met the Patriarch of the Nestorians. They exchanged gifts, and had some interesting conversation together. He could hardly say which was most to be admired in the lecture—the photographs, or the very graphic descriptions by which they were accompanied.

The LECTURER said that according to careful estimates he had heard, the refugees from Hakkari still numbered about 40,000 men, and as there would still be some left in the remote villages, he thought that his estimate of 80,000 Christian tribesmen was probably not very far out of the reckoning. Answering a question, he said the language spoken in Hakkari by the Christians was pure Syriac, while the Kurds spoke Kurdish, which was a dialect of Persian. The Christians were proud of their language being very much the same as Aramaic, the old Syriac of Christ's time, which was still read in their churches, and was still understood more or less by them. The Old Syriac bore about the same relation to the New as the language of Chaucer did to the English of the present day.

Colonel A. C. YATE drew attention to the fact that the Society had within the last two months had two very able and instructive lectures upon Mesopotamia, in both of which a claim to the site of the Garden of Eden was put forward. The first was from Mr. Perceval Landon and dealt with the lower regions of the Tigris and Euphrates, the claim of which to be the birthplace of man was so much better known than that of the Highlands of Central Kurdistan with which Mr. Wigram had just dealt. The fabled scene of Man's sinless exist-

ence—short, as might be anticipated—must, however, yield the *pas* for the moment to the one vital point connected with the war with which Mr. Wigram had dealt—viz., how long the Russian Army, reported some days ago to have reached and occupied the Bitlis Pass, would take to reach and seize some point on the Bagdad Railway. Practically four Russian forces were operating from the Caucasus—viz., towards Trebizond, Nisibis, Khanikin, and Ispahan. These Russian movements had an important relation to the relief of General Townshend's long-beleaguered force, a force for which all felt keen anxiety. He had had the pleasure of escorting to the meeting one of the most patriotic of Russians, who, however, was no longer in the room. As they drove to Albemarle Street, she, Madame Novikoff, in reference to the capture of Erzerum, reminded him that the town had previously been twice in the hands of Russia, once in 1829, when General Paskiewitch took it, and again in the Russo-Turkish War of 1876-8, during which Sir Henry Trotter had himself been present in that neighbourhood.

Colonel Sir HENRY TROTTER said he was there on that occasion. The town was occupied by the Russians during the armistice, but was restored to Turkey under the Berlin Treaty.

He desired in conclusion to express his appreciation of a lecture which had been delivered with a lucidity that engaged attention, and which had made them feel in some measure acquainted with a neighbourhood which to most people was a *terra incognita*.

The CHAIRMAN said the lecture had greatly increased their knowledge of the Mesopotamian Highlands, and of the characteristics of the tribes by which they were inhabited. He thought, taking everything into consideration, it was very remarkable that there were any people, other than the Kurdish clans, left in those regions. Not only did the country seem to be most inhospitable and most inaccessible, but also there seemed to be standing feuds between the tribes, which left very few inhabitants. He did not think it was a country he would be very anxious to visit, though to younger men its exploration must be very interesting. Mr. Wigram had made the very best use of his opportunities for studying the country and people. It was to him surprising that the lecturer's brother had been able to live in these wild Highlands for so long a time as ten years. From the views they had seen it appeared to be almost impossible for the Russians to be able to reach Bagdad, or to give us material assistance in Mesopotamia, seeing how deplorably bad the communications were. Still, the Russians had done very marvellous feats in this war, and it was at least possible that they might be able to surmount the tremendous difficulties of the mountainous route to the southern plains. He proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Wigram for his most interesting and instructive lecture.

ASIA MINOR AND THE WAR

By W. J. CHILDS

At a meeting of the Society on April 12, 1916, Mr. W. J. Childs read a paper on "Asia Minor and the War," illustrated by lantern views. Colonel Sir THOMAS HOLDICH was in the chair, and said that Mr. Childs had travelled extensively in Asia Minor, and was sure to give them an interesting description of the country and people he had been amongst.

Mr. Childs' address was as follows:

Sir Thomas Holdich, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In looking at the long history of Asia Minor, one fact stands out which may arrest attention at the present time.

It is that, with only one or two exceptions, every really great Power which has ever arisen in the Old World has sooner or later figured in war in this western region of Asia. We find also that no portion of the earth's surface has attracted so many invaders or seen so many conquerors; and that they have come from three continents and in all ages. Looking at these persistent facts, we may almost say that so surely as a State of the Old World attains a certain relative degree of power, so surely does aggression or defence at last bring it in hostilities to Asia Minor and the territories immediately adjoining.

It is common knowledge that the position of the country has largely made its history, and that as a three-way bridge between Europe, Asia, and Africa, across it passed all the old roads by which three continents exchanged commodities.

Turkey-in-Asia has seen wars for land passage, and wars for control of its straits and gulfs; it is a fertile land, and has therefore seen wars prompted by land-hunger. It is now seeing hostilities which have all these causes at bottom; nor can we well suppose the present war to be the last.

In speaking of Asia Minor and the war, I will confine myself to two districts that I know fairly well. They are Northern Anatolia, especially the Sivas Vilayet, and the country round the Gulf of Alexandretta. In these two districts I have spent more than fifteen months, and travelled on foot at least 1,500 miles.

Before going on to speak of the war in Asia Minor, I should like to say a few words on the man-power available for the Ottoman armies. On this point there is uncertainty everywhere, even as to the total of the Ottoman population. Figures usually given for the population are not based on any census, but on the returns of police and tax-farmers, and on the number of dwellings. I have heard the population placed as high as thirty millions, and as low as twenty. If we call it twenty-two for the present Ottoman Empire, I do not think we shall be far out. Of this total perhaps two millions are in Europe.

Now, these twenty-two million people comprise a variety of races, some of which hate each other with more than common hatred. Some of them are few in numbers and may be ignored; or may be included among the other races. We may say roughly that there are more than five million Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, three or four million Arabs, one and a half million Kurds, and that the remainder are Turkish and Circassian Moslems, numbering perhaps eleven million. Of these people, Kurds do not serve in the Ottoman regular army, for the adequate reason that the State has never been able to compel them to serve. It is not a matter of cost at all. The Turkish War Office would be glad enough to incorporate Kurds in the regular army; but to do so would involve civil war. There are Kurdish portions of Eastern Anatolia where the Sultan's writ does not run, and where you had much better travel alone than with a Turkish official or servant. It used to be said by Turkish officials, when disarming of the Kurds was proposed, that a force of 50,000 men would be required to disarm the three or four hundred thousand Dersim Kurds alone, to say nothing of the others. Kurds, therefore, have never been compelled to serve as regulars. The State has been content to call them out under their own chiefs as irregular cavalry; a degree of service not always given readily, and, when given, not of much value. A large portion of the Arab population is in a similar position of semi-independence, and for the same reasons has never contributed to the regular army.

Greek and Armenian elements of the population are liable for military service, and find evasion difficult. But what value is to be attached to Armenian troops in the regular army at this time? Something less than nothing, one supposes; though the Armenian is not at all the harmless, peace-loving individual that he is painted in England. The Armenian peasant with his heart in the work of fighting would be, I fancy, second only to the Turk and Circassian, and from some Armenian districts would be second to none.

Of Ottoman Greeks it may be said that they have no sympathy with anything Turkish. Their aims and ambitions are quite apart. They detest the Turk and the Turk detests them. They may add

numbers to the Ottoman armies, but add little in strength, for they cannot be trusted, and merely dilute the ranks of the real fighters.

There remains the real fighting population of the Empire, the ten or eleven million Turkish and Circassian Moslems. Of these perhaps eight millions are the Turkish Moslem peasantry of Anatolia, the heart and backbone and everything else of the Ottoman Empire. In the long-run everything hangs by them. They it is who keep the other races in subjection. They are a sort of tribe, with one purpose and one faith, and have the consciousness that they are conquerors. They do not as a class provide brains—the brains of the Ottoman Army used to come chiefly from Albania—but they are natural fighting men of the first order. I always found them courteous, honest, simple folk, fearing no man, and as likeable as any people that can be named. This Moslem peasantry of Anatolia contains, I believe, fewer males of military age than any other population of equal numbers in the world. On their manhood military service has borne heavily. Besides three great recent wars, they have fought in many insurrections. For many years also they have undergone the annual drain of service in the Arabian peninsula. Only Moslems may serve in Arabia, and the death-rate among them there, chiefly by disease, but also by warfare, has always been appalling. Service in the Yemen is regarded by Moslems as being almost equivalent to a death-sentence.

In the present war, the Ottoman armies have never attained the strength hoped for in Germany, not only for the reason that the men are not available, but that the men do not exist in the numbers supposed.

With this subject out of the way, I will speak now of two parts of the country which are of special interest in the present war. Except Constantinople and the Straits, these are the only two regions which can be called the real vitals of Asia Minor. One of them I should like to designate as the vital part of Anatolia; the other as the vital part of Turkey-in-Asia, for it has a wider importance. The Russian advance due westward from Erzerum is directed against the vital part of Anatolia.

The physical characteristics of Eastern Anatolia make it a territory which contributes little to the general resources of the Ottoman Empire. Regarded as a whole, it is a barren land of lofty mountains and highland valleys which lie some 6,000 feet above sea-level. Sometimes these valleys open out into plains a few hundred square miles in extent, but in all they occupy only a small portion of the country's surface and their winter is long and severe. It is a country sparsely peopled, with little commerce and small revenues, and the comparatively small population that it carries is of little value from the Turkish point of view. Many of its inhabitants are Armenians,

many others are Kurds. So far as the human and material resources of the Empire would be affected, Russia might occupy the country up to Erzingan and Trebizond and the Ottoman State be little the poorer, little less capable of placing armies in the field.

This inhospitable district, however, is counted as the eastern bulwark of Anatolia. To Russian invasion it offers every imaginable difficulty. Invading armies must traverse high passes, where for six months in the year they may encounter snow. Of roads leading towards the heart of Anatolia there is not one worth the name. Nor is it a land in which invading armies can find sustenance; it has difficulty enough to feed itself in times of peace, and often has to draw on more fertile regions. An army invading Anatolia from this side must be fed from the rear along lengthening lines of communication on which conveyance will always be difficult. On the eastern edge of this wide border province, the fortress of Erzerum stands across the natural route of invasion; and to enable the fortress and the armies based upon it to be readily supplied, the only good road in this part of the country was constructed to the port of Trebizond. Turkish control of the Black Sea was an essential factor in this scheme of defence; but retaining that control little fear was felt for the rest. And even if Erzerum should fall, and Turkish armies retreat somewhat, matters would not be desperate. Still holding the sea, the Turks would transfer their lines of supply to roads from Black Sea ports farther west, particularly to the great road from Samsoun to Sivas. Metalled all the way, easily graded, passably well bridged, and capable of carrying heavy traffic, it would be an adequate line of communications. In possession of Erzerum, the Russians would still have Turkish armies before them, and the rugged border province to cross before reaching the heart of Anatolia. The war would show nothing decisive so far; would still remain to be won or lost.

So Turks argued who possessed some knowledge of their country's military affairs. But with control of the Black Sea gone, and Erzerum with it, this scheme of defence falls to the ground.

The road from Samsoun to Sivas is now as little available as that from Trebizond to Erzerum. Turkish armies of the East are faced with the same difficulties of transport that it was hoped to impose upon their enemies. The advantage in this matter, indeed, may even have passed to the enemy. So far, however, the rugged border province still protects Anatolia, still has to be crossed by the invader, and so gains time for the Turks to reorganize their beaten armies, bring up reinforcements, and prepare a fresh defensive with Sivas as the new base, even though men and material have to come five hundred miles by road to reach it. As yet no pressure by invaders has reached the heart of Anatolia.

It may be asked now, Where is this heart or vital part of Anatolia,

pressure on which will be disastrous for the Ottoman State? Speaking broadly, I would say that it is the fertile country inhabited largely or wholly by that Turkish Moslem peasantry of Anatolia, that peasantry which I have described as the mainstay of Turkish dominion. The two go nearly always together—the Turkish saying runs: “To the Osmanli the rich lands, to others the mountains.” These fertile districts of Anatolia begin somewhere west of Erzingan, corresponding roughly with the valleys of the Kelkit Irmak or Lycus, and the Kizil Irmak or Halys. The plateau of Asia Minor may be regarded as falling gradually from Erzerum to the west. Erzerum plain is 6,000 feet above sea-level; Sivas and Shabin Kara Hissar, in the valleys of the Kizil Irmak and Kelkit Irmak respectively, are 1,500 feet lower. West of Erzingan, the country becomes more open; the valleys are wider; the mountains lower; the climate less rigorous. By the time Sivas is reached you are well in the fertile country, and have the heart of Anatolia around and before you. Between Sivas and Angora lie wheat lands of a quality not excelled in the world.

Erzingan, on the great northern branch of the Euphrates, is a place where many roads meet. Thence go roads to Baiburt and Trebizond in the north, to Kharput, Malatia, Marash, and Diarbekr in the south—all of them important cities judged by Turkish standards—and from Marash an easy road goes on to Aleppo and Alexandretta. But of much greater importance than any of these is the road westward from Erzingan which climbs out of the Euphrates valley and in some fifty miles reaches the valley of the Kizil Irmak, and has upon its right the valley of the Kelkit Irmak and the town of Shabin Kara Hissar. This western road—it is a road only by courtesy, and better imagined as a natural route—is the only pathway for armies invading Anatolia from the east. It has seen many. This way came Timur on his fourth campaign, when he entered Anatolia and reached Angora.

It has been reported that the Turks are preparing a new line of defence, from Kerasund on the Black Sea through Shabin Kara Hissar to Sivas. More correctly, no doubt, its right flank rests on the northern end of Karabel Dag, or Terja Dag as it is sometimes called, some forty miles east of Sivas. From the sea at Kerasund to this point is a distance of only a hundred miles; and Karabel Dag, which bounds the south-eastern side of the wide valley in which Sivas stands, is a great natural barrier crossed by only three roads in sixty or seventy miles. The part which has often been foretold for Sivas now seems about to be played. Sooner or later, in the conflict known to be inevitable, it was to see a last Turkish stand against a Russian army. For by some general perception of what the city means to Anatolia, it is recognized as a centre possession of which by Russia would carry with it the end of Turkish dominion in this region. There

is no other place of equal importance in the interior of Anatolia. It is in effect the inland capital, if there can be one, and, with its population of about 70,000, is the largest city in the heart of the country. Here, also, more than elsewhere, meet those great highways by which troops are moved and the internal commerce of Asia Minor is carried on.

It may be of interest to look at these roads for a few moments, for much is likely to be heard about them in the immediate future. For one, there is the great highway of invaders from the east, the road from Erzingan and Erzerum, which has been already mentioned. It comes down the valley, winding between the bleak treeless uplands, a road of destiny for Sivas and the Turk. From the west comes in the road from railhead at Angora, two hundred and seventy miles away, which now is the chief route for Turkish reinforcements. There are, indeed, at least two other routes by which Sivas may be reached from Angora. They are longer than this road through Yuzgat, but no doubt they, also, are being used at this time to prevent congestion on the main highway. From the north-west comes the great road from Samsoun, called the Bagdad Road, the greatest road in Asia Minor, said also to be the busiest road of its kind in the world. It passes through Sivas, crosses the Kizil Irmak by the famous old "Crooked Bridge," and after climbing Terja Dagh, goes on to Malatia and Kharput and Diarbekr and Bagdad. By this road, too, is reached Nisibin, which is railhead on the Bagdad Railway. From the south-west another very important road enters Sivas. It comes from Eregli, a town and station on the Bagdad Railway, upon the northern slope of the Taurus Mountains, and passes through Kaisariyeh. This is a route as much used for troops as the road from Angora to Sivas. I have passed large bodies of troops on this road in time of peace, and have seen them detraining at Eregli to begin the march. The road has the advantage of very easy gradients all the way till it makes a steep descent of more than 2,000 feet into the valley at Sivas. It is undoubtedly the easiest way to Sivas in all seasons excepting winter and early spring. In winter it is closed by snow between Sivas and Kaisariyeh; in spring it is sometimes a bog between Eregli and Nigdeh. In addition to these main roads are routes of less importance which go northward to small ports on the Black Sea coast, and southward to Aleppo and Alexandretta and the Cilician plain.

And here, perhaps, I may be allowed another short digression, this time on the subject of motor transport on Turkish roads, particularly those coming into Sivas. I have no doubt that motor transport will be used for military purposes between Angora and Sivas and Eregli and Sivas. The snow has melted by this time between Angora and Sivas, the roads and country are drying, and even the season of mud may be over if the summer is early. In dry weather

it will be possible to use motor transport over wide stretches of country westward of Sivas. There is, indeed, a second road between Angora and Sivas which would suit mechanical transport well. It goes from Angora to Chorum, and thence to Amasia, where the Bagdad Road is reached; a route perhaps forty miles longer than the direct road between Angora and Sivas, but one that allows of the Bagdad Road being used for a hundred and fifty miles. From Samsoun to Sivas the Bagdad Road is quite possible for motor vehicles, and with little labour and time might be made a road on which they could average ten miles an hour. Motor-cars travelled from Samsoun to Sivas several years ago; and except for frightening caravans, and danger from enraged camel-men, found no difficulty in making the journey. Mechanical transportation is also quite feasible on the road from Ereğli to Sivas. It is all a question of dry weather coupled with intelligent road maintenance from day to day.

A few words may now be given to Sivas, as an old city about to add another chapter to its history. It is built in the valley of the Kizil Irmak, which hereabouts forms a level plain five or six miles in width and 4,500 feet above sea-level. On the south-eastern side the valley is bounded by rugged treeless mountains rising 2,000 to 3,000 feet, or more, above the valley. On the opposite side are bold downs which in a few miles ascend to the much higher ground of Melekum Dagħ.

Ten or twelve centuries ago, in the days of Byzantine prosperity, Sivas is said to have had 300,000 inhabitants, and was the second city in Asia Minor. By a very curious transaction it became Armenian in a way. An Armenian King who reigned beside Lake Van in the 11th century found his neighbours too powerful and troublesome. He coveted ease and freedom from strife. He therefore exchanged his realm for the province and city now called Sivas, where he became a Byzantine Viceroy, but also remained an Armenian King. With him, and afterwards, came many Armenians; and from that day to the present Sivas has had a considerable Armenian population.

It is now a squalid, ill-built town in a country devoid of trees, without gardens or orchards, or any of the features which generally give grace to a Turkish city. Its streets are crossed by lines of raised stepping-stones—testimony to their condition in wet weather. You may look Sivas over and find nothing in it of interest except its old Seljukian colleges and mosques and minarets. There are seven or eight of these in all, built in the 13th century, as fine as any in the country, but now partly in ruin. Two miles outside the city is the old Armenian monastery of St. Nishan, the residence of the Bishop of Sivas, who is reported to have been tortured last year by having his feet shod like a horse. When I saw him at the monastery he was looking forward to better times for himself and people under the Ottoman Government.

The foundation of all the prosperity Sivas enjoys now, and has enjoyed in the past, lies in the rich agricultural and pastoral country around it. It is a country of wheat and herds and flocks. From Sivas Turkish armies on this frontier have always drawn their supplies of food. It is an old tradition in Sivas, and over large portions of Anatolia, that when Sivas bakers are ordered to bake and fill the mosques with hard bread, war with Russia follows. So it was in 1829, in 1853, in 1877; so no doubt in 1914.

Sivas is—or was—quite unfortified. Nor can one think that any attempt would be made to hold it now against a siege by Russians. Its position is so commanded by heights—from Terja Dag to Melekum Dag across the valley must be a distance of nearly twenty miles—that an immense perimeter would be required for its lines. The defence of Sivas will be conducted on the position already mentioned thirty or forty miles to the east; and when that goes, Sivas and much besides will go with it.

I now go on to speak of the yet more important district which I have called the vital point of Turkey-in-Asia. Everyone recognizes its present importance; but not so many realize that this little-known spot is a position with a future before it altogether exceptional, and fraught with immense possibilities. This vital part of Turkey-in-Asia is the few miles of coast around the Gulf of Alexandretta. It is not only the vital part of Turkey-in-Asia, but may be called the centre of the whole German scheme in Asiatic Turkey. Here, for a distance of fifty miles, the Bagdad Railway is never more than twenty-five miles from the sea. Here was to have been a great German port.

The Gulf of Alexandretta is about twenty miles in width and fifty in length to its head. Along the eastern side of the gulf, separated from the sea by a mile-wide strip of plain which sometimes breaks up into undulations and sometimes has marshes, runs the Amanus range. It is bold and abrupt; it rises to a height of five to six thousand feet at its highest points; and shows beech and oak woods in its ravines. Low, bare hills extend across the northern end of the gulf. They continue along the western side for part of its length, increasing in height somewhat as they pass south, but never reaching fifteen hundred feet. At the southern extremity of these hills is Ayas Bay, a harbour with the little town of Ayas upon its northern shore; and opposite to it, across the bay, is the mouth of the Jihur, one of the chief rivers of Asia Minor. Within twenty-five miles of Ayas Bay, across the Cilician Plain, is the town of Adana, a place of 100,000 inhabitants, the capital of the Plain, and an important station on the Bagdad Railway. But the Bagdad Railway comes even closer to the sea than it does at Adana. If you were to go ashore at the head of the gulf and walk due north for less than four hours

you would then cross the railway. From this point a branch line has been laid down to the gulf and along its eastern shore, crossing on the way the plain of Issus and Alexander's battlefield, to the port of Alexandretta. This outline topography of the district around the head of the gulf is all that I need give now. The inner purpose of the Bagdad Railway is known to everyone in this room; so also is the importance of the railway at this present time. I may now go on and speak of Alexandretta, and the part it was to fill in a Germanized Turkey-in-Asia.

It has been said sometimes that one of the aims of the Bagdad Railway scheme was to restore the old trade route between Europe and Asia which passed through Constantinople. That by the Bagdad Railway goods were to be hauled overland between Bagdad and Central Europe. As a war route, no doubt this was the purpose, but only as a temporary measure; there was a much wider aim and appreciation of possibilities. Asiatic Turkey, when fully developed by German railways and capital, would require more than the Bagdad Railway to convey its products to Europe. It needed ports, ports in the right place, ports served by railways. Instead of goods being hauled to Europe they were to be shipped, and Alexandretta was to have been the Mediterranean port of the Bagdad Railway system, and a port of the first order.

To understand what Alexandretta was intended to be, and its enormous importance, you need to look thirty years ahead and consider Turkey-in-Asia as a whole—as the Germans have done. Consider it well supplied with railways; various ports to have been made, and joined by railway lines with the districts which they naturally serve. So doing, you find that about two-thirds of Asia Minor proper will be served by eight or ten chief ports—Trebizond, Samsoun, Constantinople, Ismid, Aivali, Smyrna, Adalia, and possibly Selefke. Mersina may be left out of this count, for it is a somewhat artificial creation. It is an open roadstead in shallow water where vessels have to lie two or three miles out. Its present importance is largely due to old caravan routes, and the limitations of road traffic. Railways, and the other port which must be constructed on the Gulf of Alexandretta, will eventually diminish its value. But for the wide territory of South-Eastern Anatolia, Northern Syria, and Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf, there are, owing to the configuration of land and sea, only two conceivable outlets. One of these is on the Persian Gulf, the other either on or close to the Gulf of Alexandretta. By reason of water traffic on the Tigris and Euphrates no doubt the Persian Gulf outlet will serve the greater area. But when allowance is made for this advantage, there remains a territory of more than 100,000 square miles, much of it among the richest in the Turkish Empire, for which a port on the Gulf of Alexandretta will be the

outlet and have no possible rival, unless you imagine ports within a few miles of each other. This area will begin west of the Taurus Mountains; it will extend north of Kaisariyeh; it will include all the Cilician Plain; it will pass east through Kharput to Lake Van; include the Diarbekr region, take in a large portion of Mesopotamia, and extend south of Aleppo. And it must be borne in mind that in reaching European ports the Gulf of Alexandretta gives a shorter voyage than from the Persian Gulf by nearly 4,000 miles, and also saves the Canal dues.

You see something of the importance of the Alexandretta Gulf port on the map, but you do not see nearly all of it so. You need to be familiar with the country to understand the future of this north-eastern angle of the Mediterranean. You need to have seen the agricultural possibilities of the Cilician Plain; of the central parts of Anatolia; to have travelled in Northern Syria and seen wheat extending to the horizon like prairie grass. You also need to realize what mineral riches are awaiting scientific mining and means of conveyance. There are copper deposits near Kharput and Diarbekr to equal any in the world. In the mountains of Albistan, peasants bring lumps of lead ore and magnetic iron, and tell what masses these samples have come from. The mines now worked in the Taurus are said to produce more silver than any in Europe. From a mineralogist's point of view, Asia Minor is almost an unknown region.

Knowing the country well, fully appreciating its possibilities, and looking far ahead, Germans realized what was to be done in the Gulf of Alexandretta. They aimed to make there the centre of the whole future economic development of Asiatic Turkey. There was to be the Hamburg and Trieste of Turkey-in-Asia. The Bagdad Railway was the first step in the process—a military railway at this stage to make the rest possible. The political and military side of the matter settled, the port on the Gulf of Alexandretta would then be developed to the full. Between the future Alexandretta, and Trieste and Fiume a great trade was expected by the Austrian partner in the scheme; between Alexandretta and North Sea ports a greater by the German partner.

In the past there has been debate where the port on the Gulf of Alexandretta should be. Some considered the Bay of Ayas, on the western side of the gulf, as the best and most natural site. The Bay of Ayas is a natural harbour, but it also requires artificial protection by harbour works, and is also on the wrong side of the gulf, for the greater extent of territory to be served lies to the east. The Germans investigated the claims of Ayas and of Alexandretta, and decided for the latter, and one supposes that the choice is now definitely settled for all time. The bay was surveyed and plans made for the new harbour by German engineers. Then a concession was obtained

by a German syndicate enabling it to construct and work the port; and construction had been in progress a year when war broke out, and presumably stopped operations.

Alexandretta, as I have said, was the German choice for the future great port in these regions, and their choice, I believe, is a wise one. It has the immense advantage that no other port hereabouts will serve so great a territory. You may have ports which will serve Mesopotamia equally well, and others Asia Minor, but none which will so well serve both regions. Suedia—the so-called port of Antioch—Beyrut, Haifa, all will do for Mesopotamia; but they will draw nothing from Asia Minor, particularly from the region west of the Gulf of Alexandretta. In looking to Syrian ports as the future chief outlets of Mesopotamia, Asia Minor is ignored; and it is by no means certain that, in the long-run, a developed Asia Minor will not prove of greater importance than a developed Mesopotamia. If Haifa or Beyrut, for instance, be made the chief port, there will certainly have to be another for Asia Minor on the Gulf of Alexandretta. In deciding upon Alexandretta, the Germans chose the one central spot.

Let us now take a glance at this little place which seems destined for future greatness. The town is called unhealthy, a place of mosquitoes and malaria, owing to marshes between it and the mountains. But when Ibrahim Pasha, at the time of the Egyptian occupation of Northern Syria, made it his chief port, he cut a canal, drained the swamps, and mosquitoes and malaria disappeared. The canal has not been maintained and fever has returned. But there is no other reason why the town should not be as healthy as any. It has a good situation and abundance of excellent water, which breaks out in springs at the foot of the mountains.

Although Nature has not made a harbour here, she has gone a good way towards doing so. For just at Alexandretta the coast-line coming down from the north turns sharply to the west for two or three miles, and encloses a bay, sheltered from any direct swell from the Mediterranean, but, to a certain extent, affected by the range of such seas. The bay is also open to any sea which rises in the thirty-mile extent of the gulf itself. The building of a breakwater, however, presents no difficulty. It would have to resist no great weight of wave; shingle and rock for concrete are in abundance; and there is deep water—yet not too deep—close inshore. All that is needed is to construct a snug harbour within a gulf which is too large to be a snug harbour itself. This work, as I have said, has already been begun.

At present the town is the terminus of the short branch line which comes from the Bagdad Railway at the head of the gulf. For the time being, until the military and political side of the German Asiatic scheme had been cleared up, Alexandretta was to have no more than a branch railway, more not being advisable or even possible.

"In time to come," said a German official in Cilicia to the writer, "no doubt we shall take the railway under the Beilan Pass to Aleppo." Beilan Pass is eight or ten miles south of the town, and that way is the direct route to Aleppo and Syria and Mesopotamia. The official spoke without boasting—he was looking far ahead, to the time when Germany would have a free hand; when there would be a network of railways, and when the shortest routes would be followed. This official had no doubts about the future of Alexandretta—it was to be a very great port indeed; to be, among other things, the western port of Mesopotamia.

We may recall that a generation ago Alexandretta was proposed as the western end of a British railway to India. No doubt we may look forward now to seeing that railway constructed sooner or later. We may be able to travel by rail from Charing Cross to Calcutta, and Cairo, and Cape Town. Whenever that comes about, the route will be past the head of the Gulf of Alexandretta. The gulf will have as much to do with railway communication between London and Africa as between London and India. To this extent, and for whatever value this through railway communication may have, the Power which holds the gulf and port of Alexandretta will control railway communication between Europe and India and Africa, and largely to Persia. There is no other spot of equal importance in all Asiatic Turkey.

If, at the present time, the Gulf of Alexandretta is the most vital point in the Turkish Empire outside the capital, not less, but more so will it be a vital point in any conceivable order of things which may follow the present war. Its importance will increase with every year. You cannot well overestimate what that importance will become, if you consider the commercial and other developments likely to take place in the future between the *Ægean* and the Persian Gulf. Call Alexandretta of the future one of the greatest, perhaps the very greatest seaport on the Mediterranean, and you will not have overestimated its full possibilities. You may, at all events, be glad that Cyprus, covering this great position, remains a British possession.

Let me now show you a short selection of slides from photographs I have taken in many parts of Asia Minor.

The CHAIRMAN said that out of the instructive and interesting lecture they had heard an immense number of problems, both political and military, emerged, and some of them, no doubt, would exercise our own administrators considerably. He did not himself feel competent to touch upon such problems, and would confine his remarks to two points in the lecture which interested him particularly.

He was exceedingly glad to hear Mr. Childs speak well of his old friends the Turks. When he was in Mesopotamia, he was frequently

entertained by Turkish gentlemen and officers of the Turkish Army who were there keeping the country against the Arabs. He always found them most courteous, most obliging, most hospitable, friendly, and well-mannered, and kindly to men and even to animals. He could not imagine any people further removed from what would be classed in these days as the barbarian or the Hun. He could not bring himself to believe all the stories that were told of the terrible atrocities with which they were sometimes credited, though they had been partly subscribed to even by so experienced and distinguished a diplomat as Lord Bryce. If they looked into the details given, they would see that in many cases, at any rate, the numbers suffering from the atrocities alleged were impossibly large. For instance, it was quite impossible for 10,000 Armenians to have been conveyed away in small boats into the middle of the sea and there dropped into the water. It was equally inconceivable that 800,000 Armenians should have been massacred in Bitlis. Such stories went about, and the Turks, in accordance with their fatalistic policy, did not care to contradict them. There was room for suspicion that, on the other hand, the Armenians found it useful financially to boom atrocities. He would, therefore, ask them most earnestly to take stories of Turkish atrocities with considerable grains of salt. They should remember how public opinion was stirred in the days of the Bulgarian atrocities, but in the fiercer light of subsequent history it was found that they gradually dwindled down to about one-tenth of their original supposed dimensions.

With reference to the extraordinary potential wealth of Mesopotamia, they knew of the plans prepared by Sir William Willcocks for irrigation both north and south of Bagdad. Mr. Childs considered that there were only two outlets for the trade of Central Mesopotamia, one north to Alexandretta and the other south to the Persian Gulf. He would ask him why he overlooked the possibilities of produce being eventually carried by rail westward from Bagdad through Palmyra to Damascus, which was already connected with Beirut. It seemed to him that that would eventually be the most important line of communication.

Colonel Sir HENRY TROTTER said that his travels in Asia Minor were in parts other than those described by the lecturer. He knew the Aleppo district, but was more particularly acquainted with the Erzerum frontier region. The recent Russian capture of that city he regarded as one of the most wonderful military feats in history. No one knowing the rough mountainous country over which the Russian guns had to be taken could doubt this. It was snow-covered in winter, subject to terrible blizzards, and presented awful difficulties to an advancing army. He was at Erzerum when it was attacked by the Russians in 1877. The Russians won a big victory

at the Deve Boyur Pass, about five miles east of Erzerum, and if they had followed it up the same night, he believed they would have got into the fortress. But they halted and hesitated, and when some days later on they made the final assault they were beaten. They invested, but never entered Erzerum during the war, and while they were besieging it during the winter they lost some 20,000 men from typhoid fever.* Many of his own prophecies respecting the present war had come true; but two days before the capture of Erzerum he maintained that it was absolutely impossible for the Russians to take it. He was gratified to find his beliefs in this respect falsified. (Cheers.)

Colonel A. C. YATE said he was interested to hear that the influence of the architecture of the Knights of Rhodes had extended so far into the centre of Asia Minor as the lecturer had shown—viz., to the neighbourhood of Kaisariyeh. He had been a student for the past fifteen years or more of the history of the Knights of St. John, and had not heard before of such extension. The history of the tenure of Rhodes by the Knights was well known. "The Street of the Knights" in Rhodes was famous. On the Asia Minor coast they held Smyrna, until the hordes of Timur the Lame drove them from it. The fortress of Budrum, built up by the Knights on the site and from the ancient masonry of Halicarnassus, was the refuge of escaped Christian slaves during the 14th and 15th centuries. The Order of St. John of Jerusalem in this country took a keen interest in its own antiquarian history, and would be glad to have further information on the subject of this recrudescence of Hospitaller architecture in Asia Minor.

The account which the lecturer had given of the future great importance of the port of Alexandretta recalled to his mind the fact that Lord Beaconsfield, prior to the Berlin Conference of 1878, had decided to make Alexandretta the Mediterranean terminus of an Euphrates Valley or Bagdad Railway. To that end he occupied Cyprus. That Disraeli and Salisbury blundered at Berlin in 1878, when they let in the thin end of the Austro-German wedge, we all now know. But had not the Liberal tide floated Gladstone into power in 1881, Disraeli would have squared matters with the Central Powers by forestalling Berlin at Bagdad.

Mr. A. L. P. TUCKER said that many would like to know what was the degree of popularity enjoyed by the Young Turk Party Government among the Turkish soldiery of Anatolia. How was the new Turkish Government—Hariyeh as it was called—regarded by these millions of peasants and brave soldiers? In reference to the remarks that had fallen from the Chairman as to the probable guiltlessness of the Turkish Government in the matter of the reported

* Under the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano, Erzerum was temporarily handed over to the Russians.

recent Armenian and other older massacres, he would like to mention one thing. A member of the Society whose lot was cast for some time at Bagdad in an official capacity told him that he thought the Turkish officials with whom he there came in contact were the worst, and indeed the vilest, class with which he had ever had dealings.

Mr. CHILDS, in reply to the observations of the Chairman, said that of course a railway could be made to Beyrut, and the traffic diverted thither, if that was the object aimed at by the authorities concerned. But provided a good harbour was made at Alexandretta, it would be very difficult to get the traffic away therefrom. The distance between the two ports was only about 120 miles, and he did not think there was anything in favour of Beyrut in point of distance. And further, Alexandretta would be the port for a large part of Anatolia, which Beyrut could never hope to be. It was no good hoping for Beyrut to have the supremacy if a start was made at Alexandretta, and it was turned into a good port, and provided with railways.

With regard to the traces of the architecture of the Knights of Rhodes in Central Asia Minor, it was generally believed that the Greek builders themselves came from Rhodes 200 or 300 years ago; it was at least clear that the work was done by Greek masons, who were said to have come from the southern coast.

As to the sentiments of the Turkish peasantry towards the Government, it was to be remembered that the cultivators believed whatever they were told by the priests and teachers. They had no newspapers enabling them to learn what was going on in the outer world. They had been told that the English were endeavouring to destroy the Mohammedan religion; and of course they were ready to fight to the last for their faith. The majority of the Turkish peasantry, in so far as they had any opinions on the subject, had no great partiality for the present form of government. In their sympathies they were supporters of Abdul Hamid rather than of the present régime. They were told of the evil things that were going to happen to Islam if the Turkish cause was defeated; and they were prepared to do anything the authorities demanded to save their religion and their country from the dangers they believed were threatening them.

MANCHURIA, 1905-1915

BY THE REV. A. R. MACKENZIE, B.D.

Delivered May 10, 1916, illustrated by lantern slides, and with the Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand in the chair.

IN a large, loosely compacted country like China, there are regions which tend to be of critical importance in determining the destinies of the whole. Manchuria has proved itself to be one such area in the nearer, as in the remoter, past. The Liao dynasty and the Chin dynasty, which attained successively to a considerable measure of power in China in the time of the Sung Emperors (tenth to thirteenth centuries A.D.), had their origin in Manchuria. Thence, also, sprang the related race which became the Ching dynasty and took over imperial power in China in 1644, and resigned it in 1912. Manchuria was the scene of two sanguinary wars in the decade previous to the one now under consideration—the Chino-Japanese War, 1894-5, and the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-5. And the years 1905-1915 have witnessed important developments in Manchuria with respect to domestic policy and international relations alike.

As regards the supreme authority in the Chinese State, Manchuria has been affected by recent changes as much as the rest of China. The second last reign of the Manchu dynasty, that of Kwang Hsü, came to an end towards the close of 1908. There followed a regency on behalf of a very young Emperor, the reign of Hsüan Tung, which ended in resignation of empire by the Manchu dynasty in 1912.

The Revolution, which arose in Central China in the autumn of 1911, spread very quickly among the educated, and vocal, minority of the Chinese people. Province after province intimated its adhesion to the Republican cause. A good deal of bloodshed and misery was suffered by both sides in the course of the conflict.

The "Three Eastern Provinces"—i.e., Manchuria—were among the last to adhere to the new cause, and ere that took place, about Chinese New Year (February, 1912), many judicial murders had been committed at Moukden in the name of the moribund Imperial dynasty. On the other hand, the Revolutionists were responsible for local disturbances, even after the Republic had been proclaimed in Manchuria. At Kaiyitan, where we were living at the time, a rising

occurred which involved considerable loss of life. Apparently it had been planned before the city began to fly the Republican flag, and the robbers who formed the bulk of the revolutionary force were unwilling to be deprived of the booty promised them by their leaders. In any case the five-colour flag had been flying over Kaiyüan for a day or two, when, on February 21, a small company of resolute men, well armed, entered the city from the east and engaged the Chinese police on guard, shooting many civilians in the bygoing.

Our Mission had only a Women's Hospital in the place; and while the skirmish was in progress the two lady-doctors got ready to receive the wounded. Then I went to the scene of the fighting and got them fetched to the hospital. One old Mohammedan had gone out to call his grandchildren off the street, away from danger. He was shot, and in spite of treatment he died some days later. A young man, the sole surviving son of his parents, was also fatally wounded. The killed numbered about a score, mostly police; and the wounded brought to the hospital were also about twenty in number. Most of the latter recovered.

For five days after that the city was at the mercy of the robbers, who looted at their pleasure, especially at night. We opened a building in our premises as a refuge for women and children, or for whole families, if they desired to come.

On February 26 a Republican force was marched against Kaiyüan and laid siege to it. They brought with them a field-gun, with which they bombarded the city, presumably for having been so foolish as to be occupied by robbers. One of their 4½-inch shells, fired empty, fell in our garden, damaging the wall. The fight was inconclusive, and the robbers cleared out that night under cover of the darkness, as their ammunition was spent.

Later events have shown that the strength of the Revolution was critical rather than constructive. A change of dynasty was overdue, and it was accomplished with the tacit consent of the people. But the immediate building up of a Republic upon a sound foundation proved a task beyond the powers of the wisest Chinese statesmen.

Democratic institutions—a central Parliament, provincial Parliaments, and local councils—have all been tried and found wanting. The Chinese people are not yet ready for self-government, because they lack the necessary education and discipline. The power is now in the hands of Yüan Shih-kai, who is dictator in fact, if not in name. There was a proposal recently to create Yüan Emperor of China, which has now been abandoned. In spite of Yüan's apparent reluctance to take the title of Emperor, it is plain that this course would be no more than the logical development of his ambitions, and the sequel to his performance in recent years of the Imperial sacrifices at the Altar

of Heaven. It would be difficult to predict what bearing it would have on the future of China. To a disinterested observer it appeared to be a policy fraught with great danger to the State, and to the continuance of ordered government within it.

The winter of 1910-11 was rendered memorable in Manchuria by the deadly epidemic of pneumonic plague, which spread from the Russian frontier southwards. Of the tens of thousands stricken by the plague, not a single person is known to have survived. Among the deaths were those of several doctors engaged in preventive work among the Chinese, like Dr. Mesny of Tientsin, Dr. Arthur Jackson of Moukden, and at least one Japanese doctor. The subject was investigated by an International Medical Commission, which met at Moukden in April, 1911, before the epidemic had completely disappeared. Measures for the prevention of a future epidemic of the kind were discussed, and in view of these the Chinese Government appointed Dr. Wu Lien-teh, a Cambridge-trained Chinese medical man, to supervise a comprehensive scheme for the prevention of plague, with its headquarters in North Manchuria. The plague was probably one of the factors which hastened the end of the Manchu dynasty. At the memorial service held at the British Consulate-General in Moukden, after Dr. Jackson's death, Hsi Liang, the Viceroy of Manchuria, confessed his responsibility to the Emperor for the spread of the plague to the provincial capital. Similarly the Emperor, or the Prince-Regent in his name, was deemed responsible to the people for the calamity that had overtaken the Empire under his charge. In this instance, at least, the inference had a closer relation to facts than we in the West are apt to realize. The epidemic could easily have been held in check but for deplorable ignorance and want of organization on the part of the Chinese officials in North Manchuria.

The close of the Viceroy's speech on the occasion referred to was so memorable as to bear recalling.* "O spirit of Dr. Jackson, we pray you, intercede for the twenty million people in Manchuria, and ask the Lord of Heaven to take away this pestilence, so that we may once more lay down our heads in peace upon our pillows. In life you were brave, in death you are an exalted spirit. Noble spirit, who sacrificed your life for us, help us still, and look down in kindness upon us all."

The summer of 1915 was marked by disastrous floods in many parts of China, and the Manchurian plain, watered by the Liao River, suffered, as well as parts of the Sungari and Amur River basins. Thousands of the inhabitants were rendered homeless and foodless, and public relief has had to be provided on a large scale.

* *The North China Herald*, March 3, 1911.

RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN POWERS.

For some time past Chinese diplomatic communications with Russia have dealt chiefly with questions about Outer Mongolia, rather than about North Manchuria. The Chinese Government has found it difficult to maintain its suzerainty over Outer Mongolia, which has set up a claim to autonomy under its locally appointed rulers. Meantime, the Russians have endeavoured to promote their interests, commercial and other, throughout the region. Outstanding questions at issue between China and Russia have been discussed at a Conference between Commissioners appointed by both countries, but no permanent settlement has yet been reached. Relations between these two Governments in regard to the position in North Manchuria continue relatively unchanged.

Chinese relations to Japan in South Manchuria are full of interest. The professed policy of Japan in regard to China is the maintenance of the latter State's territorial integrity. After the Chino-Japanese War, Japan was forced to relinquish her hold on Manchuria, and after the Russo-Japanese War she voluntarily did so once again. Japan, however, retains complete control of the leased territory in the Liaotung Peninsula, and of the railway zone as far north as Changchun. This last-named strip, under foreign jurisdiction, has been the cause of many perplexities. The Japanese are supremely jealous of their authority in the railway zone, and will admit of no interference in it of Chinese military or police. Chinese brigands and other criminals are apt to take advantage of this, and resort to the Japanese region as to a sanctuary. So long as their behaviour there is good, the Japanese authorities have no objection to their presence. This tends to stultify Chinese efforts at good government. Other difficulties arise out of this intrusion of an alien authority right through the heart of Chinese territory. Regulations are made by the Japanese authorities which the Chinese resent; dues are imposed against which they protest in vain. Patriotic, but unwise, attempts have been made by Chinese to boycott the Japanese railway, but without success. For there is no gainsaying that the South Manchuria Railway has benefited the Chinese enormously in a material sense.

The Japanese policy in Korea has caused many Koreans to cross the border into Manchuria. A number of these immigrants sought to become naturalized as Chinese subjects; but the Japanese Government intervened at an early stage, making representations to China against the procedure, which has now been made very difficult in practice. Meanwhile, the Japanese have been endeavouring to create a practical monopoly of China's foreign trade for themselves throughout South Manchuria, using their favourable position as owners of the railway as a lever, and employing every means short of

an explicit infringement of the principle of "the open door." Among the officials of the two countries, and in mercantile circles, there has been a considerable measure of *rapprochement*. But the bulk of Chinese popular opinion seems to be increasingly anti-Japanese. There are doubtless various reasons for this, both good and bad. Japanese treatment of Chinese is by no means always conciliatory. China is humbled in the persons of her officials, as well as of her populace, whenever an excuse is found for "putting her in her place." Japanese trade is, in some of its aspects, disastrous to China's well-being—*e.g.*, the wholesale establishment of Japanese *fornices*, and of "medicine-shops" throughout the interior for the sale of morphia and hypodermic needles. By this last-mentioned trade, which has grown to enormous dimensions, China's splendid fight for the abolition of opium is being nullified, and the habit is being fastened on the people in a worse form than ever. These "medicine-shops" have been conducted by Japanese contrary to treaty rights, but under the protection of their Government. Chinese vendors of the drug would have been pounced upon by the Chinese authorities, and severely punished..

The only occasion on which I have witnessed the use of morphia by a Chinese drug-taker at first hand was at Weishaho, a small place in the Chi-an prefecture, some two hundred miles east of Moukden, early in the month of November, 1914. We put up at an inn, where a soldier belonging to the Chinese mounted police was also a guest. In the course of the evening he proceeded to take a dose of the drug. He made no secret of the fact that it was morphia, bought in a Japanese medicine-shop at Tunghwa, the nearest town of any size.

After dissolving a quantity of the drug in water, he filled a hypodermic needle with the solution, punctured his arm with the needle, and injected the contents. The needle had been broken, and was roughly patched up with a substance resembling cobbler's wax. The place on the arm was wiped with a cloth beforehand, but no effort was made to secure a proper asepsis.

The soldier then persuaded another fellow-guest to take a dose of the drug. This latter-named was a carter suffering from tooth-ache. The drug was administered in the same careless fashion as before. The following morning, before he left the inn, the soldier took another dose.

Reports reach me from time to time, through Chinese friends and others, as to the disastrous effects of this habit upon its victims, and also as to its widespread distribution in Manchuria.

EFFECTS OF THE EUROPEAN WAR.

The present war has affected China, like the rest of the world. Trade has been profoundly disturbed by it, even in remote parts of China. And one of the earliest concluded campaigns of the war took place in China, where Japan attacked the German leased territory of Kiaochou, in Shantung, with the aid of Britain, and took it towards the end of 1914, after a comparatively brief siege of Tsingtao, the principal town of the territory.

In Shantung Japan has succeeded Germany, temporarily at least, in the management of the Shantung Railway (Tsingtao to Tsinanfu). The staff of the South Manchuria Railway was already acquainted with the working of a railway concern under similar conditions, so the Japanese Government approached the South Manchuria Railway with a request to detach some of their employees for service in Shantung.

In order to reduce the risk of harm to her own citizens, China was persuaded to delimit a zone in Shantung for the operations of the belligerent forces, and soon after the conclusion of the campaign requested the retrocession of this zone. Japan claimed that this was not due until the end of the war, but assented on condition that China admitted a few counter-claims. These included, with reference to South Manchuria, extension of the terms of the lease of the Kwantung Province—Port Arthur and Dairen—and of the South Manchuria Railway and the Antung to Moukden Railway to ninety-nine years from the dates of the original agreements, certain mining rights, preferences in borrowing for Government purposes or for railway construction to be given to Japanese capital, and consultation with the Japanese Government previous to the engagement of foreign advisers, and also the following provisions:* “Japanese subjects may lease or buy the land in the region of South Manchuria that may be necessary either for the erection of buildings or for commercial, industrial, or agricultural purposes.” “Japanese subjects shall be at liberty to enter, travel and reside in the region of South Manchuria, and to carry on business of various kinds, commercial, industrial, and otherwise.” By South Manchuria is meant the Japanese sphere of influence as defined in the Treaty of Portsmouth (1905). It is a division of Chinese territory by alien Powers, without any reference to Chinese opinion, or even to Chinese political geography. After negotiations protracted through several months, Japan insisted on China's acceptance of the agreement, by presenting an ultimatum. China had nothing for it but to give way. What the effects will be in the future it is impossible to forecast. For one thing, it entirely alters the position of immigrant Koreans in Manchuria.

* *The Times*, May 11, 1915.

Formerly they were there on sufferance, and many difficulties had arisen on account of their presence. Now they may claim status as Japanese subjects, with a right, under the new agreement, to be in Manchuria. It also legalizes Japanese trade of every kind throughout Manchuria, including presumably the harmful classes of business to which reference has already been made.

For a number of reasons Chinese sentiments in regard to the war tend to be markedly pro-German. Full advantage is taken of this by German agents in China; for instance, the German telegraphic news service is made available to Chinese newspapers at temptingly low rates.

The feeling in Manchuria is illustrated by the fact that on the German Emperor's birthday, January 27, 1915, Chinese flags were flown throughout Moukden at the order of the police. This was interpreted as a demonstration directed chiefly against the Japanese; but it is hard to see what good purpose such a display can serve.

JAPANESE SPHERE.

The Treaty of Portsmouth, which concluded the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, put Japan in possession of the leased territory in the Liaotung Peninsula, an area of about 1,200 square miles in extent, and of the railway from Port Arthur and Dalny as far as Changchun, a stretch of over 470 miles in length.

Port Arthur is the seat of the Government and official administration of the Japanese area in Manchuria. The Japanese territory is ruled by a Governor-General appointed by the Japanese Government. The numbers of the military garrison maintained there and in the railway zone are not published. Visitors to Port Arthur are shown the ruins of Russian forts and other striking reminders of the great siege of eleven years ago. Extensive new fortifications have been constructed by the Japanese. But the real centre of Japanese trade and activity is to be found at Dalny, called by the Japanese Dairen, thirty-seven miles by rail to the north-east. Dairen is now a well-planned modern town, with many handsome buildings. To other great natural advantages, the harbour of Dairen adds the important one of remaining practically ice-free through the winter. It thus enjoys uninterrupted trade at all seasons. The greater distance between Dairen and towns in the interior is minimized by special low freight rates on the railway, and for all these reasons Dairen has become a formidable rival to the port of Newchwang (Yingkou).

The business control of the port of Dairen, along with numerous other commercial interests of the Japanese in Manchuria, is vested in the South Manchuria Railway, an immense concern with a large proportion of Government funds in its capital.

During and after the war, as the Japanese took over the railway, they converted the Russian broad gauge into the narrow gauge, for which they had material immediately available. In 1908 the main line was converted to standard gauge, and still later was doubled through a great part of its length, in order to cope with the steadily increasing coal exporting and other traffic. With the introduction of the standard gauge, great improvements on the rolling-stock were effected, and now expresses *de luxe* on the Pullman system, with dining-cars and sleeping-cars attached, convey passengers on their way to and from the West, via Siberia.

Among the exigencies of the war-time was a railway pushing across the mountainous region that separates Antung at the mouth of the Yalu River from Moukden. A line was hurriedly constructed by the military on a very narrow gauge, and opened for passenger and goods traffic subsequent to the conclusion of the war. Travelling by this line was somewhat slow—a rate, including stops, of about ten miles an hour was attained—but there was the compensation of viewing some grand mountain scenery to very great advantage as the tiny train toiled up to the summit of the passes and rattled down again. A few years ago this line was entirely reconstructed on the standard gauge, with tunnels through the mountains. The journey from Antung to Moukden, or *vice versa*, is now performed in six to seven hours, where formerly it took two days, with a night spent at a Japanese inn *en route*. And a swing bridge has been built across the Yalu, connecting the South Manchuria Railway with the Korean Railways, so that the traveller from Europe may journey without change of carriages from Changchun in Manchuria to Fusan on the straits at the south-east corner of Korea, whence a short sea crossing brings him to Japan.

A year or two ago, before traffic was disorganized by the present war, an American traveller performed a round-the-world trip in about thirty-five days. He travelled across the Atlantic, by Siberia to Harbin, thence through Manchuria and Korea to Yokohama, where he caught the C.P.R. trans-Pacific steamer for Vancouver, and so home.

The coal trade of the South Manchuria Railway has been alluded to. The mines at Fushun, twenty miles east of Moukden, produce a bituminous coal which kindles readily and burns intensely, if smokily. They have been equipped with the most modern plant, and the daily output is said to exceed 5,000 tons, and it is hoped that it will shortly reach the 10,000 ton mark. The miners are Chinese. They are housed in a particularly squalid town, which forms a contrast to the wide streets and rather handsome buildings of the contiguous Japanese town.

It is impossible to do more than mention some of the other enterprises of the South Manchuria Railway. It runs newspapers in

Japanese and English (the *Manchuria Daily News*, a little sheet of four pages, giving the important telegrams of each day, with local political, commercial, and social news, edited from the semi-official Japanese standpoint). It has established modern hospitals for the reception of Japanese and Chinese patients at every considerable place along the railway line. It has founded a splendidly equipped and well-staffed Medical College at Moukden for the instruction of Japanese and Chinese students through the medium of the Japanese language. It has made roads. It has built several large railway hotels for the reception of Westerners travelling to and fro. It manages public supplies of gas, and electricity, and water. It runs tramways. It is at the back of a considerable shipping business. It is endeavouring to foster all sorts of industries, such as fruit-growing, sericulture, glass-making, the manufacture of fireclay, paints, and chemicals, and so on, and so on.

Most of the original rolling-stock of the railway came from the United States. Some locomotives were got from Manchester. Now the Japanese say that their railway workshops near Dairen have turned out, and are going to continue to turn out, a locomotive which combines the excellences of the American and the British types, not to mention passenger cars and goods waggons.

The railway has agents with a roving commission, travelling all over the world to pick up ideas. They make no secret of their willingness to adopt hints on anything, great or small, connected with railway management, from anywhere (*e.g.*, in such a detail as the caps of station-masters, it was announced, shortly prior to the outbreak of the present war, that henceforward they would be made according to the German model!).

It is difficult to exaggerate the extent or the multiplicity of the business engaged in by this extraordinarily versatile corporation. One reason, moreover, for putting so many and so various schemes under the charge of the one company suggests itself. The larger the South Manchuria Railway concern becomes, and the more its capital grows, the harder will it become for China to face its purchase, when it comes to have the option in course of time.

The management of this vast company, and its policy at any given time, are necessarily bound up with the course of domestic politics in Japan. Questions that gravely affect the prosperity of the business community are discussed and decided in a political sense. Such are, *e.g.*, the matter of preferential rates for imports of Japanese cotton goods by the Korean Railway and Antung. These rates were acting greatly to the disadvantage of the Dairen merchants, not to mention foreign manufacturers, and were repealed after a brief trial. There is also the question of the registration of Japanese-owned shipping at Dairen. Foreign-built shipping, bought by Japanese

owners and registered in Japan, has to pay a considerable import duty. If registered at Dairen, there is no duty to pay; but in Japanese ports such shipping is treated the same as foreign shipping, and may only enter such ports in Japan as are open to foreign shipping.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN MANCHURIA.

1. *Roman*.—The Roman Catholic Missions in Manchuria are carried on by the French *Missions Étrangères de Paris*, under two Bishops. As far as the information of the writer serves, the work is continued on the same lines as in previous decades. Orphanages and elementary boarding-schools constitute an important feature. The Roman Catholics have erected a number of beautiful churches in Manchuria, including an imposing cathedral at Moukden.

On the mission staff there are fifty-two French priests and twenty-seven Chinese priests. Ordinarily the French priests are not given any opportunity of returning to their native land, but by the operation of the French conscription law many of the younger priests have, since August, 1914, been recalled to France to take a hand in the war against the German aggressor.

A total membership of upwards of 50,000 is reported, with over 4,500 catechumens.

2. *Protestant*.—Protestant Missions are carried on by Presbyterians (Presbyterian Church in Ireland, mission started 1869; and United Free Church of Scotland, 1872) and by the Danish Lutherans (mission started 1895). These Missions work together in entire harmony, with complete delimitation of the field. Formerly, most attention was given to ordinary evangelistic and medical work, aiming at far-spread extension. Later years have seen great developments in the sphere of education, in which the three Missions co-operate to a large extent.

There is the Manchuria Christian College (Union, Arts and Science) at Moukden, with a staff of five European professors and a number of Chinese teachers. The present buildings were opened in 1910. On the roll there are some sixty students, nearly all of whom are baptized Christians. The college aims at a standard as near as possible to the University standard at home.

The Moukden Medical College (Union) was opened in 1912. Dr. Arthur F. Jackson, who died at the plague time, went out to teach in this college, and a wing of the main building constitutes a fitting memorial to him. The first class entered in 1912, the second in 1914, and a third class is to be received at the beginning of 1916. The College is housed in substantial buildings. There is a staff of five European professors, of whom Dr. Dugald Christie, C.M.G., is Dean, with visiting lecturers and Chinese assistants.

An Industrial School for the training of craftsmen in Western methods has been established in Moukden.

Y.M.C.A. work has been begun recently in the provincial capitals, Moukden and Kirin, and has created much interest. This work is confined almost wholly to the governing and the educated classes amongst the Chinese.

On the women's side, a Normal College for training girls to be teachers has been started at Moukden, in a beautiful new building, and there is a similar institution at Kwanchengtze.

There are Middle Schools and Primary Schools, both for boys and for girls, in many centres throughout the Manchurian provinces.

The Manchurian Revival of 1908 was widely reported at the time. It took its rise at Liaoyang, where meetings were held under the leadership of the Rev. Jonathan Goforth, a Canadian Missionary in Honan. Men and women began to stand up in church and make public confession of their sins. Very often they seemed to act under the compulsion of an overpowering emotion, confessing in agony with strong crying and tears. Then the whole congregation, on being invited to pray for a penitent, would break forth into a storm of audible prayer, in which one perceived the Divine Spirit rushing like a spring gale through many hearts, quickening them into an entirely new life.

From Liaoyang the Revival spread northwards to Moukden, and to other centres throughout the province, and southwards on to China proper. The following years proved that its effects were real and lasting in many, if not in all, who passed through it. Numbers of Chinese Christians gained a vision at that time, and a permanent uplift in their lives. And many others had their more or less formal interest in Christianity deepened into personal faith. The numbers of candidates for baptism and of inquirers increased remarkably. So also did the liberality of the Church. Some congregations were able to go forward to the calling of Chinese pastors which had hung back up till then, because of supposed inability to support them. In short, all the energies of the Chinese Church were stimulated by the Revival in a way not open to question.

The Church has now reached a membership of about 25,000 baptized Christians, including 18,500 communicant members, with about 6,500 adherents under instruction. There are sixteen ordained Chinese pastors, and the mission staffs number as follows; Irish Presbyterian, 43; United Free Church, 63; and Danish Lutheran, 43. Of the total of 149, 67 are men, 38 single ladies, and 44 wives of missionaries.

Missionary work among the Japanese in Manchuria is carried on by the American Presbyterians, and among the Korean immigrants by the American and the Canadian Presbyterians. There is

also English work for the foreign community carried on by the S.P.G. from the ports of Dairen and Yingkou.

PRESENT SITUATION.

In the last ten years large additions have been made to the Chinese population of Manchuria, from Shantung and elsewhere in China proper, and great tracts of land in the East and the North have been opened up by the new settlers. It is still, however, a somewhat thinly populated country. The principal export in these years was the soya bean, which has found its way into many of the world's markets. Much timber has been sent down the rivers from the eastern forests, and a considerable amount of grain has been exported to needy parts of China.

An attempt has already been made to indicate the main features of China's political condition at the present time. Administrative control in China is not very effective or thoroughgoing at the best, and symptoms seem to point to a marked decline in effectiveness since the inauguration of the Republic.

Edicts have been promulgated by the executive, and promptly disregarded by the people. It is impossible to indicate the number and various tenor of these. One was a sumptuary law to regulate, in the interests of national economy, the expenses of betrothals and marriages, and of funerals, and to prevent the waste that is common in connection with them. The difficulties in the way of carrying out such a law are wellnigh insuperable.

The provinces are each under the control of a Military Governor, who has the assistance of a Civil Governor. A province is divided into several circuits (*tao*), with resident prefects (*tao-yin*) in charge. Each *tao* comprises a number of districts (*hsien*) under the authority of magistrates. But the whole Chinese governmental system has been subject to chameleon-like changes in recent years. I am without information as to what forces of military and police are at the disposal of the provincial Governors in Manchuria.

Lawlessness has been rife in many parts of China in the past year or two, in Manchuria as elsewhere. Foreign missionaries and other foreign residents have been robbed by brigands, which thing was by comparison unknown in Manchuria under the late dynasty.

It is other factors than these, however, that render the task of the Chinese administration in Manchuria unusually difficult; and since it is in connection with railways that the complexity of the special political situation in Manchuria has arisen, it might be well at this point to enumerate the railways exhaustively, in order to arrive at a comprehensive view of the question.

There are, first, under Chinese Government control: (1) The

Chinese Government Railway, Peking to Moukden (Manchurian section, Shanhaikwan to Moukden, 261 miles; branch to west bank of River Liao at Newchwang, 67 miles. Constructed with British capital). (2) Changchun to Kirin Railway (87 miles. Japanese and Chinese capital).

Secondly, under Russian administration: (3) Moscow to Vladivostok (Manchurian section, Manchouli to Pograditchnaia, 925 miles). (4) Harbin to Changchun (150 miles). These sections of the Siberian Railway are called the Chinese Eastern Railway, and were built with Russian capital.

Thirdly, under Japanese administration: (5) Dairen to Changchun (438 miles). Branch lines (76 miles). (6) Antung to Moukden (170 miles). These are comprised under the South Manchuria Railway, and were built or reconstructed with Japanese capital.

Fourthly, the following additional construction has been proposed, and preliminary surveys made: (7) Ssüpingkai to Taonanfu (about 200 miles). (8) Kaiyüan to Hailungchêng (120 miles). (9) Fushun to Hsingching (75 miles). These would be constructed by Japanese engineers with Japanese capital.

Thus, of the 2,174 miles of railway already opened in Manchuria, only 415 miles are under Chinese control. The remaining 1,759 miles are completely under foreign management. This means that, in the case of hostilities between China and either of the Powers administering these railways, the latter would be used against China. It is surely unnecessary to point out how dangerously this affects Chinese autonomy.

Even in time of peace the railways are not run primarily in the interests of China; and the railway zones, with foreign settlements at each large place on the railway-line, are definitely under Russian or Japanese administration, as the case may be. The Russian or Japanese authority in these strips and areas is jealously maintained as regards both military and civil administration.

Naturally this gives rise to continual friction of a more or less serious kind, and it is almost unnecessary to add that China, slow-moving and weak and inefficient as she is, judged by modern standards, has almost invariably to give in to her stronger neighbours in the long-run.

Japan, for example, is not merely indifferent to the lack of order that prevails in some parts of Chinese territory, she seeks to turn it to account and to attract wealthy Chinese, merchants and others, to reside in the railway zone and benefit by the security maintained there by the Japanese garrison.

The agreement concluded between Japan and China in May, 1915, has the effect of extending the rights of Japanese subjects from the railway zone indefinitely into the interior of South Manchuria. It

puts Japan into a position of advantage in that particular part of China such as no other foreign nation enjoys anywhere else. And in the meantime, while her Western competitors are largely engrossed in the great war, Japan is straining every nerve to promote and consolidate her interests in China, particularly in Manchuria. The growing influence of Japan is, in fact, the salient feature of the present situation in Manchuria.

Japan feels that she ought to occupy this privileged position, because of her sacrifices in two costly campaigns twenty and ten years ago, and especially because of the broad identity of interests between these two nations of the Far East. On the other hand, China and the Chinese resent coercion into what is to them an unfamiliar point of view. Whereas Japan's desire to be China's dearest friend is unexceptionable, her manner of showing friendship may be open to criticism.

If a young lady's lover were to demand at the point of a pistol that she should put her jewellery under his safe-keeping, there might naturally be some grounds for suspicion as to the reality and disinterestedness of his affection, no matter how excellent the young man's professions might sound. Japan's recent vigorous method with China has surely been of this nature. The question cannot but occur to the onlooker, Are Japan's attentions to China the rough but well-meant actions of a highly self-conscious, and therefore somewhat awkward, neighbour? Or will they have to bear some sinister interpretation? The future alone will declare.

The CHAIRMAN, in inviting discussion, said that they had listened to a very interesting lecture, interesting from whatever point of view it might be regarded. Their hearty thanks were due to Mr. Mackenzie.

Sir EVAN JAMES: I join with our President in thanking Mr. Mackenzie most heartily for his lecture. What impressed me most in the lecture was the greatness of the changes which have occurred in Manchuria since, exactly thirty years ago, Sir Francis Young-husband, Mr. Fulford and myself travelled through that province. The administration was then purely Chinese, the country was only sparsely populated, and the Northern Province was used as a place for the transportation of criminals and exiles. The mountains were unexplored, no railways existed, and journeys and commerce were only possible in the winter when the roads were frozen. Now, as you have heard, the country is divided into three provinces under three Governors-General instead of one. It is wonderfully well served by railways, giving communication with Peking on the west, with the Russian railway system and Siberia on the north, and Vladivostok and Korea on the south. Manchuria has been the scene of great fighting, as

a result of which, and of the great siege of Port Arthur, Japan has obtained possession of the Liaotung Peninsula south of Moukden, of Port Arthur itself, and the great Russian town and port of Dalny, or Daren, close to Port Arthur. Japan possesses also a strip of country running halfway up the province, over which her railway passes. She has annexed Korea on the south, and has joined it by rail with her own Manchurian district. The great Manchu dynasty which came from Moukden and conquered China in 1644 has perished, and there is now no central authority at Pekin to secure the loyalty of the people.

Under such circumstances it would seem impossible that the country should continue for long to exist as a part of China, and perpetual friction between the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Russian authorities would seem inevitable. Still, Orientals do manage sometimes to get on in what to Westerns would seem an inconceivably difficult situation. It is impossible now to prophesy what may happen, and certainly till the end of the Great War no disturbance of the *status quo* is likely to occur. The Chinese have evidently no love for the Japanese. The incident mentioned by the lecturer, that after Japan had beaten the Germans at Kiaochau the Chinese authorities at Moukden flew flags in honour of the Kaiser's birthday, indicates serious dislike. Much, no doubt, will depend on whether China can develop a strong central government again. If she slides into civil war and anarchy, it seems not improbable that Manchuria will be practically lost to her, just as part of Mongolia has already lapsed into Russian hands. Probably there will be two spheres of influence for a time—Russia in the north and Japan in the south, and in time Japanese and Russians will divide the whole. During the period of transition the Japanese, with their railways and steamers and business enterprises, are making the country a valuable asset to the world, though in some ways the population are not much the better. The development of the morphia habit, which is nullifying the sacrifices which the Chinese have made to suppress opium smoking, is demoralizing the people, and Japanese influence seems evil in other ways. But population and cultivation are extending, and the wild forests through which we had to travel with great difficulty are being cut down for lumber.

One bright spot is the progress made by Christian missions. I can bear testimony to the fine character of many of the Chinese Christians, and their steadfastness during the Boxer persecution was very fine. Hundreds of them submitted to execution rather than deny their faith. I may quote an example related by the Rev. Dr. Ross, of whom we have heard, the founder of the Presbyterian Mission in Manchuria, whose loss we have recently had to deplore, one of the ablest men whom this country has ever sent out to China. How well do I recall the kindness we received from him and his

excellent colleagues in 1886. Mr. Webster's services were thought too valuable in Manchuria, and he is now working at the Mission's home offices in Scotland; but Dr. Christie, whom the Crown has honoured with the order of the C.M.G., is still continuing his splendid work of introducing European methods of medicine and surgery to North China. To return to Dr. Ross—the following is an example he gives of one of the Christian martyrs: "One of the Christians, who was head of an important business, escaped to the hills. For three days he was hiding, when he was discovered by the agents of the Boxers, who scoured the country all around. His captors recognized him, for he was a prominent citizen and well known. They desired to save his life, for he was generally respected. When seizing him they said they would take him to the 'Guild,' before which he should renounce his 'heresy,' when he would be set at liberty. He refused to go, saying he would never renounce his belief. They dragged him forcibly along, but he set his heels in the ground and resisted. They expostulated with him on finding it was impossible to drag him so far against his will, and, losing patience, at length angrily threatened him, asking whether he knew what the result would be of his obstinacy. 'Yes,' he answered; 'when I became a Christian I was prepared for this.' They beheaded him on the spot."

One can only hope that Mr. Mackenzie and his colleagues will be able to further extend the missionary influence, and that every now and then we may hear in this Society of the progress which the Mission is making. We trust that no civil commotion will disturb it, or the great prosperity of Manchuria generally. Mr. Mackenzie has given slides depicting the looting of Kiayuan, where he was stationed, by a set of raiders when the revolution came about. We may congratulate him on not having suffered more severely; but he took the disturbance as part of the day's work, and the missionaries spent their time in rescuing and caring for those whom the raiders had wounded. The Chinese telegraph office had been destroyed, so amongst other things Mr. Mackenzie, though he has omitted to tell us so, walked six miles to the nearest office of the Japanese railway, and was able to send news of the raid to the Chinese authorities at Moukden, who then sent out troops to recover the town. As an instance of political friction I may mention that the Japanese railway refused to carry the troops to the rescue, and they had to come all the long distance by road.

I am unable to agree with the lecturer that by vigorous and immediate action the Chinese authorities might have kept the plague out of Manchuria. When I was Commissioner in Sind I co-operated in my small way with the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab to prevent the spread of plague into his province. We employed all the resources of the British Government, and I am free to confess

that we exercised our powers with tyranny; but the people concurred in our proceedings and tolerated them willingly, because they knew our object was beneficent. Yet we did not succeed in keeping plague out of the Punjab, and it has been worse there than in any other part of India.

Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND: I am afraid the experiences of Sir Evan James and myself in Manchuria are almost prehistoric now. Listening to the lecture, it is amazing to note the change and progress that has been effected in that wonderful country. We travelled into the remote valleys from which the Manchus originally sprung, and from which they extended their sway over the whole of China. It is an extraordinary reflection that in a very short time within recent years the Manchu dynasty has entirely disappeared, and that China of all countries of the world should have become a Republic. I gather from the lecture, however, that the Republic is not very stable, and that the people seem to be tending in the direction of another monarchy.

What we noticed particularly about Manchuria was the great richness of the country. The soil was exceedingly prolific, and there were vast regions of most valuable virgin forests. The roads then were not good, being very much in the condition of some of those shown on the screen. We used to have to plough our way along those roads in the country carts, and where there were no roads for carts we took mules, and with them travelled up into the mountains of Manchuria. When mules failed, we trudged along carrying loads on our own backs; and one of the sights I admired most was to see Sir Evan James trudging along with a 40-pound load on his back. In that way we ascended the mountain called the Long White Mountain, on which Sir Evan James has written a book. On the summit there was fabled to be a lake; and finding our way through the forests and emerging on the summit, we found this fabled and unexplored feature. The bed of the lake was formed by the crater of an extinct volcano.

I was very glad to see that one of the slides contained a photograph of that veteran missionary, Dr. Ross. Sir Evan James and I still have a vivid recollection of the cordial hospitality which was extended to us by him, and also of the valuable information he gave us. He had compiled a most instructive "History of the Manchus," and was the very best type of missionary. The work which these Scotch missionaries have done in Manchuria is really as excellent as any done by missionaries in any part of the world. We were deeply impressed by it, and we have since watched it progressing year by year. Only a short time ago we had the pleasure of meeting Dr. Christie, who had entertained us in Moukden thirty years ago, and I understand he has now returned from furlough to

Moukden. It is a most valuable work that the missionaries are doing, and I am very glad of this opportunity to testify to it, and to corroborate in every respect what has been said. We thank the lecturer for his interesting and informative paper, and we shall hope at some future time to have Dr. Westwater, to whom he has referred, giving us a lecture on the great province he knows so well, and which has such a great future in store for it.

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF
THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

CORRECTED TO MAY 10, 1916

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

Chairman :

1914. THE RT. HON. SIR H. MORTIMER DURAND, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I.,
K.C.I.E.

Vice-Presidents :

1904. LORD LAMINGTON, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.
1905. LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.I.E.
1906. COLONEL SIR THOMAS H. HOLDICH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B.
1908. SIR VALENTINE CHIROL.
1908. RT. HON. LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
1913. THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, M.P.

Hon. Treasurer :

1915. SIR EVAN JAMES, K.C.I.E.

Hon. Secretary :

1914. E. PENTON, ESQ.

Members of the Council :

1915. SIR HUGH BARNES, K.C.S.I.
1915. T. J. BENNETT, ESQ.
1914. SIR FREDERIC FRYER, K.C.S.I.
1913. COLONEL J. G. KELLY, C.B.
1913. E. R. P. MOON, ESQ.
1915. COLONEL SIR HENRY TROTTER, K.C.M.G., C.B.
1914. A. L. P. TUCKER, ESQ.
1914. LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.

Secretary

1905. MISS HUGHES.

LIST OF MEMBERS

The names marked with an asterisk are of those who have served on the Council. The names in capitals are those of present Members of Council. Names in italics are those of Councillors resident in India. The names marked with a dagger are those of original Members.

A

1910. Abdul Qaiyum, Khan Bahadur Sahibzada, C.I.E., Assistant Political Officer, Khaiber, Peshawar, N.W.F. Province.
 †Aglionby, Captain A., Junior Naval and Military Club, 96, Piccadilly, W.
 1916. Ainscough, T. M., Artillery Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.
 1912. Allen, G. B., Free Chase, Warninglid, Sussex.

B

1908. Baddeley, F. J., 34, Bruton Street, W.
 1910. Bailey, Captain F. M., 7, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, N.B.
 1914. Baillie, J. R., 1, Akenside Road, Hampstead, N.W.
 1906. Bailward, Colonel A. C., R.A. (ret.), 1, Prince's Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.
 1916. Baluchistan Agent to Governor-General and Chief Commissioner, Quetta.
 10 1905. *BARNES, Sir Hugh Shakespear, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., Woodlands Corner, West Byfleet, Surrey. M. of C.
 1913. Barrow, Major-General Sir Edmund, G.C.B., Artillery Mansions Hotel, S.W.
 1910. Beauclerk, Lord Osborne de Vere, 9th Lancers, 2nd Cavalry Brigade, B. E. F., France, Brooks's Club, 4, St. James's Street, S.W.
 1907. Benn, Colonel R. A. E., C.I.E., Resident, Jeypore, Rajputana, India.
 *†BENNETT, T. J., Harwarton House, Speldhurst, Kent. M. of C.
 1916. Bernière, Col. H. J. de, 115, Jermyn Street, S.W.
 1910. Bigg-Wither, Captain F., I.A., Deputy Commr., c/o Messrs. A. Scott and Co., Rangoon, Burma.
 1916. Bombay, Sec. to Govt. Political Dept., Bombay, India.
 Bosanquet, O. V., C.I.E., Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, Indore, C.I.
 1903. Bottomley, Frank, 157, Sheen Road, Richmond, Surrey.
 20 1916. †Bruce, General C. D., Wynters Grange, Harlow, Essex.
 †Buchanan, W. A., 23, Great Winchester Street, E.C.
 1912. Bury, The Viscount, Guards' Club, 70 Pall Mall, S.W.
 1914. Bury, C. Howard, Bath Club, Dover Street, W.

C

1907. Cadell, P. R., C.I.E., c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
 †Carey, A. D., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.

1903. *CHIROL, Sir Valentine, Kt., 34, Carlyle Square, Chelsea, S.W., Vice-President.
1908. Cox, Lieut.-Col. Sir Percy Z., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Knockrind, Simla.
1914. Crewdson, Wilson, J.P., F.S.A., Southside, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
1914. Crewdson, Captain W. T. O., R.F.A., Nowshera, India.
- †Crow, Mrs. F. A., 17, Westgate Terrace, Redcliffe Gardens, S.W.
1907. Cuninghame, Sir William J., K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (ret.), Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.
1907. *CURZON OF KEDLESTON, The Rt. Hon. Earl, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Hackwood, near Basingstoke, Hants, Vice-President.

D

1908. Dane, Hon. Sir Louis, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Clarendon Lodge, Millbrook, Hants.
1908. Daukes, Captain C. T., c/o Thos. Cook and Son, Bombay, India.
- †Dartrey, The Earl of, 10, Upper Belgrave Street, S.W.
1906. Davis, W. S., Bhopal Agency, Sehore, Central India.
1903. *Donoughmore, The Earl of, 5, Chesterfield Gardens, W.
1906. Dobbs, H. R. C., C.I.E., I.C.S., Sibi, Baluchistan, India.
1910. Douglas, Captain H. A., Derwent Lodge, Lansdowne Road, Tunbridge Wells.
1910. Drummond, Miss, Kensington Palace Mansions, W.
1903. *†Durand, Colonel A. G. A., C.B., C.I.E., 31, Park Lane.
1907. *DURAND, The Right Hon. Sir H. Mortimer, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Penmain House, Rock, Wadebridge, Cornwall. Chairman.

E

- †Elphinstone, Lord, Carlton Club, 94, Pall Mall, S.W.
1911. Etherton, Captain P., Lansdowne, Garhwal, U.P., India.

F

1907. Fancourt, Col. St. J. F. M., C.B., Deancroft, near Stowmarket, Suffolk.
1915. Flower, Hon. E., Durrow Castle, Durrow, Queen's County, Ireland.
1916. Forbes, Sir George Stuart, K.C.S.I., The Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1915. Fraser, George, Imperial Institute, S. Kensington, S.W.
1906. FRYER, Sir Frederic, K.C.S.I., 23, Elvaston Place, Queen's Gate, S.W.

G

1908. Gabriel, Vivian, C.S.I., C.V.O., I.C.S., c/o The Foreign Department, Government of India, Simla, India.
1913. Garrard, S. H., Cavalry Club, and Welton Place, Daventry,

1909. Gearon, Miss S., Ladies' Empire Club, 69, Grosvenor Street, W.
 1908. Godfrey, Lieut.-Col. Stuart H., C.I.E., Indian Army. Political Agent, Dir, Swat and Chitral, Malakand, N.W.F. Province, India.

H

1904. *Hart-Davies, T., I.C.S. (ret.), East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
 †Hills-Johnes, General Sir James, V.C., G.C.B., Dolaucothy, Llanwrda, R.S.O., South Wales.
 *†HOLDICH, Colonel Sir Thomas H., K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., 41, Courtfield Road, S.W. Vice-President.
 1908. Howell, E. B., I.C.S., Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, 23, Chesterton Road, Cambridge.

I

1916. India, Foreign and Political Department of Government, Delhi.
 1906. India, Secretary of State for, India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
 60 1915. Ingram, M. B., Cavendish Club, Piccadilly, W.

J

- *†JAMES, Sir Evan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Glenshee, Cambridge Park, Twickenham.
 †Jardine, Mrs., Monmouth House, Stanley Avenue, Wembley, Middlesex.
 1916. Jardine, Sir John, Bart., K.C.I.E., Applegarth, Godalming, Surrey.
 *†Jardine, W. E., I.C.S., C.I.E., The Residency, Gwalior, Central India.
 1908. Jennings, Col. R. H., R.E. (ret.), C.S.I., 20, Roland Gardens, S.W.

K

1907. *KELLY, Col. J. G., C.B., 1, West Cromwell Road, Kensington, W. M. of C.
 1913. Kemp, Miss, 26, Harley House, Regent's Park, N.W.
 †King, Sir H. Seymour, K.C.I.E., 25, Cornwall Gardens, S.W.

L

1904. *LAMINGTON, The Rt. Hon. Lord, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., 26, Wilton Crescent, S.W., Vice-President.
 70 1914. Laurie, W. J. C., I.C.S., c/o The Secretariat, Behar and Orissa, Bhagalpur, India.
 1907. *Lawrence, Sir Walter, Bart., G.C.I.E., 22, Sloane Gardens, S.W.
 1908. *Lloyd, George A., M.P., 99, Eaton Place, S.W.

1912. Loch, Lieutenant P. G., 97th Infantry, c/o Messrs. Cox & Co.,
Bombay, India,
1908. Lockhart, Lady, C.I., 187, Queen's Gate, S.W.
1909. Lyall, Captain, R.A., I.A., Parachinar, Kurrum Valley,
N.W.F. Province, India.

M

1909. Macartney, Sir George, K.C.I.E., H.B.M. Consul, Kashgar,
Chinese Turkestan.
1915. McCoy, Mrs., c/o Messrs. Glyn, Mills, and Co., 67, Lombard
Street, E.C.
1908. Malcolm, Brigadier-General Neill, D.S.O.
1906. McMahon, Lieut.-Colonel Sir H., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., High
Commissioner for Egypt, Cairo, Egypt.
80 1915. Maunsell, Colonel, Constitutional Club, Northumberland
Avenue.
1912. Medicott, Captain H., Cavalry Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1910. Miles, Major-Gen. P. J., c/o Lloyds' Bank, Bath.
1908. Moon, E. R. P., 6, Onslow Gardens, S.W. M. of C.
†Murray, John, M.A., D.L., J.P., F.S.A., 50A, Albemarle
Street, Piccadilly, W.
1915. Mylne, Miss Nina, Commonwealth Bank, New Broad Street,
E.C.
1916. Mysore, Residency Library, Bangalore, S. India.

N

1905. Neill, Professor J. W., I.C.S. (ret.), 4, Campden House
Chambers, Kensington, W.
1916. North-West Frontier Province. The Chief Commissioner,
Peshawar, India.

O

1906. O'Connor, Major W. F. T., R.A., C.I.E., H.B.M. Consul,
Shiraz, Persia.
90 1905. Oliver, Captain D. G., 67th Punjabis, Junior United Service
Club, Charles Street, S.W.

P

1908. Payne, Mrs. Wood, 101, Philbeach Gardens, S.W.
†Peel, The Viscount, 52, Grosvenor Street, W.
1907. Pemberton, Col., R.E. (ret.), B6, The Albany, Piccadilly,
W., and Pyrland Hall, Taunton.
*†Penton, E., 2, Cambridge Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.
Hon. Sec.
†Perowne, J. T. Woolrych.
1914. Perry-Ayscough, H. G. C., c/o The Chinese Post Office,
Shanghai, China (via Siberia).

1908. Phipson, H., 10, Hyde Park Mansions, W.
 *†Picot, Colonel, Indian Army (ret.), Hotel Beau Séjour,
 Lausanne.

R

1910. Raines, Lady, 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W.
100 1916. Rajputana, The Agent to the Governor-General, The
 Residency, Mount Abu, Rajputana, India.
 1912. Richmond, Mrs. Bruce, 3, Sumner Place, S.W.
 1904. *RIDGEWAY, The Rt. Hon. Sir West, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.,
 K.C.S.I., LL.D., 10, Ormonde Gate, S.W.
 *†RONALDSHAY, THE EARL OF, M.P., 38, Grosvenor Street,
 W. Vice-President.
 1914. Rose, Archibald, C.I.E., H.B.M. Consulate-General,
 Shanghai, China.

S

1907. Salano, E. J., 4, Park Lane, W.
 †Sandbach, General A. E., D.S.O., R.E., Naval and Military
 Club, 94, Piccadilly, W.
 1912. Stainton, B. W., c/o Messrs. Hickie, Borman, Grant & Co.,
 14, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1909. Stein, Sir Aurel, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc. Super-
 intendent Arch. Survey, Frontier Circle, Peshawar,
 N.W.F.P., India.
 1910. Stirling, Capt. H. F. D., 59th Sind Rifles, Frontier Force,
 Chitral, N.W.F. Province, India.
110 1907. Stokes, Major C. B., 3rd Skinner's Horse, Military Attaché
 at Teheran, 50, Marlborough Hill, N.W.
 1903. Stoner, J. J., 19, Kensington Court, W.
 1903. Swayne, Colonel H. G. C., R.E., Headquarters of the Army,
 Simla, India.
 †Sykes, Miss Ella E., Elcombs, Lyndhurst, Hants.
 1905. Sykes, Miss Ethel R., Elcombs, Lyndhurst, Hants.
 1904. Sykes, H. R., Longnor Hall, Leebotwood, Shrewsbury.
 1907. Sykes, Colonel Sir Percy, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., Bandar Abbas,
 Persian Gulf, via Karachi.

T

1903. Tanner, Miss, 8, Cavendish Place, Bath.
 1908. Taylor, Arthur Boddam, 123, Sinclair Road, W. Kensington,
 W.
 1905. Thomas, F. W., Ph.D., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
120 1908. Tod, Colonel J. K., Indian Army, 7th Haryana Lancers,
 Jacobabad, Sind, India.
 1907. Trevor, Sir Arthur, K.C.S.I., 16, Harcourt Terrace, Redcliffe
 Square, S.W.
 1907. *†TROTTER, Col. Sir H., K.C.M.G., C.B., 18, Eaton Place,
 S.W. M. of C.

1915. Tryon, Capt. H. W., J.P. (late Gordon Highlanders), 32,
Hans Mansions, S.W.
1908. *TUCKER, A. L. P., C.I.E., Hayes, Northiam, Sussex. M. of C.

V

1905. Vanderbyl, P. B., B4, The Albany, Piccadilly, W.

W

1911. Waller, Miss D., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W.
1911. Waller-Sawyer, Mrs., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W., and Moystown
House, Belmont, King's Co., Ireland.
†Walton, Sir Joseph, M.P., Reform Club, 104, Pall Mall,
S.W.
1905. Watson, Major John William, I.M.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay,
Groome and Co., Bombay.
130 †Whitbred, S. H., 11, Mansfield Street, W.
1916. Wilson, Lieut.-Colonel James Allan, D.S.O., 8th Gurkhas,
Ambala, Punjab, India.
1912. Woods, H. C., 171, Victoria Street, S.W.

Y

- *†YATE, Lieut.-Colonel Arthur C., Beckbury Hall, Shifnal,
Shropshire. M. of C.
1905. *Yate, Colonel C. E., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., 17, Prince of Wales
Terrace, W.
135 *†YOUNGHUSBAND, Lieut. - Col. Sir Francis E., K.C.I.E.,
3, Buckingham Gate, S.W., Vice-President.

RULES

OF

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

1. THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY was founded for the encouragement of interest in Central Asia by means of lectures, the reading of papers, and discussions.

2. Persons who desire to join the Society shall be proposed by one Member and seconded by another, and shall then be balloted for by the Council. Ladies are admissible.

3. The Secretary shall in all cases inform Members of their election.

4. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be £1.

5. The Council shall have power to remit subscriptions in special cases in which such remission shall appear expedient.

6. All subscriptions are due on election, and thereafter annually, but if the election takes place in November or December, the second annual payment will not become due till the expiration of the succeeding year; thus if a person be elected in November, his second subscription will not be due till the second January following.

7. Every person elected a Member of the Society shall make the payment due thereon within two calendar months after the date of election, or if abroad within six months after election; otherwise the election shall be void unless the Council in any particular case shall extend the period within which such payments are to be made.

8. Annual subscriptions shall be due on the tenth day of January in each year; and in case the same shall not be paid by the end of the month, the Treasurer or Secretary shall be authorized to demand the same. If any subscriptions remain unpaid at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, the Treasurer shall apply by letter to those Members who are in arrear. If the arrears be not discharged by the 1st of January following such application, the Member's name as a defaulter shall be suspended in the meeting room, and due notice be given to the Member in question of the same. The name shall remain suspended, unless in the interval the arrears be discharged, until the Anniversary Meeting next ensuing, when, if the subscription be not paid, the defaulter will cease to be a Member of the Society.

9. A Member, who is not in arrears, may at any time resign his membership by notice in writing, but such notice of resignation must reach the Secretary before the 1st of January, otherwise the subscription for the current year will be payable.

10. A Member's resignation shall not be valid, save by a resolution of the Council, until he has paid up all his arrears of subscription; failing this he will be considered as a defaulter, and dealt with in accordance with Rule 8.

11. The Officers of the Society shall be: (1) The Chairman, (2) the Honorary Treasurer, and (3) the Honorary Secretary, all of whom must be Members of the Society. In addition to these there shall be a Secretary.

12. The Chairman shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for one year from the date of his election. He shall be eligible for re-election on the expiration of his tenure of office.

13. The Honorary Treasurer and the Honorary Secretary shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting, on the nomination of the Council, for two years, and are eligible for re-election.

14. The Secretary shall hold office during the pleasure of the Council.

15. The Chairman, as head of the Society, shall have the general supervision of its affairs. He will preside at Meetings of the Council, conduct the proceedings, give effect to resolutions passed, and cause the Rules of the Society to be put in force. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees, and may at any time summon a Meeting of the Council.

16. The Honorary Treasurer shall receive all moneys, and shall account for them. He shall not make any payments (other than current and petty cash expenses) without the previous order of the Council. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees. He shall exercise a general supervision over the expenditure of the Society, and shall prepare and submit to the Auditors at the expiration of each year a statement showing the receipts and expenditure of the Society for the period in question. All cheques must be signed by him, or in his absence any Member of the Council acting for him.

17. The Honorary Secretary shall, in the absence of the Chairman, exercise a general control over the affairs of the Society, and shall, ex officio, be a Member of Council and of all Committees.

18. The Honorary Secretary shall attend the Meetings of the Society and of the Council and record their proceedings. He shall conduct the correspondence and attend to the general business of the

Society, and shall attend at the Rooms of the Society at such times as the Council may direct. He shall superintend the persons employed by the Society, subject to the general control of the Council. He shall be competent on his own responsibility to discharge small bills, but any account exceeding the amount of Five Pounds shall, except in cases of great urgency, be submitted for approval to the Council before payment. He shall have the charge, under the general direction of the Council, of printing and publishing the Transactions of the Society.

19. The Secretary shall act generally under the orders of the Hon. Secretary, and if at any time the former is prevented by illness or any other cause from attending to the duties of his office, the Hon. Secretary shall act in his absence; but in the case of prolonged absence the Council shall have power to make such special arrangements as may at the time be considered expedient.

20. There shall be a Council consisting of twelve Members of the Society, exclusive of the Chairman but inclusive of the Honorary Officers of the Society.

21. The Members of Council as aforesaid shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting on the nomination of the Chairman in Council, subject to any amendment of which due notice has been given, as provided in Rule 23.

22. There shall be prepared and forwarded to every Member in Great Britain, together with the notice as to the Anniversary Meeting, a list containing the names of persons so nominated to serve on the Council for the ensuing year, together with any other names, should they be proposed and seconded by other Members, a week's notice being given to the Secretary. The List of Members nominated as aforesaid shall be first put to the Meeting, and, if carried, the amendments (if any) shall not be put.

23. Of the Members of Council other than those referred to in Rules 12 and 13—*i.e.*, the Officers—three shall retire annually by seniority. They shall be eligible for re-election.

24. Should any vacancy occur among the Honorary Officers or other Members of Council during the interval between two Anniversary Meetings, such vacancy may be filled up by the Council.

25. The Ordinary Meetings of Council shall be held not less than once a month from November to June inclusive.

26. Special Meetings of Council may be summoned under the sanction of the Chairman, or in his absence by a circular letter from the Secretary.

27. Three Members of the Council shall constitute a quorum.

28. At Meetings of Council the Chair shall be taken by the Chairman, and in his absence the Senior Member present shall take the Chair. The decision of any matter shall rest with the majority, and in case of an equality of votes the Chairman shall have the casting vote in addition to his ordinary vote.

29. Committees may be appointed by the Council to report on specific questions, and unless otherwise stated three shall form a quorum. Such Committees shall be authorized to consult persons not members of the Society.

30. Ordinary General Meetings are for hearing and discussing papers and for addresses, but no resolutions other than votes of thanks for papers read shall be passed at such meetings except by permission of the Chairman.

31. Special General Meetings are for considering and dealing with matters of importance, such as the making or amendment of its Rules, or questions seriously affecting its management and constitution. No business shall be transacted at such meetings except that for which they are summoned, and of which notice has been given.

32. The Anniversary Meeting for receiving and considering the Annual Report of the Council and Auditors, and dealing with the recommendations contained therein for the appointment of Members of the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, and for hearing the President's Address (if any), and deliberating generally on the affairs of the Society, shall be held in June of each year. But no resolution seriously affecting the management or position of the Society, or altering its Rules, shall be passed unless due notice shall have been given in the manner prescribed for Special General Meetings.

33. Ordinary Meetings shall be convened by notice issued to accessible Members, and as a general rule they shall be held on the first Wednesday in each month from November to May, both inclusive, the Wednesday of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas weeks being excepted. At such meetings, and also at the Anniversary Meeting, but not at special General Meetings, each Member of the Society shall have the privilege of introducing, either personally or by card, two visitors.

34. Ten Members shall form a quorum.

The Accounts shall be audited annually by an Auditor nominated by the Council. The employment of a professional Auditor shall be permissible. The Report presented by the Auditor shall be read at the next ensuing Anniversary Meeting.

